THE IMPACT OF SOVIET POLICIES IN ARMENIA, 1920-1936

A Study of Planned Cultural Transformation

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine Soviet policies in Armenia and their impact on the patterns of Armenian culture. Specifically, an attempt will be made to evaluate the impact of Soviet policies on the Armenian Church, family, village, and town; to assess the extent to which the values taught by these institutions were transformed or supplanted; and to examine new Soviet institutions and values which took root in Armenia.

When the Communists assumed control of Eastern Armenia, Armenian society had many of the characteristics of a typical "folk society." Armenian values were legitimized by custom and religious sanctions. Human relations, within the framework of these sanctions, were personal and informal. The relaxed, generous, non-striving personality was the favored type. The family, village, and Church were the basic agencies in the socialization of the child, and the leadership of these institutions was patriarchal in character. Social classes were fairly stable, and there was relatively little social mobility. Therefore, in many respects this paper is a case study of the impact of Soviet policies on folk society. In a larger sense, it is a study of the secularization of folk society, a process which has been taking place among the folk societies of Europe since

the Middle Ages and among those of Asia, since the eighteenth century.

The case of the Armenians is especially interesting because the patterns of Armenian culture have shown a remarkable resistance to change throughout the vicissitudes of Armenian history. Armenians have suffered repeated economic and political disasters; for long periods they were under the rule of foreign overlords; and yet the patterns of their culture have shown remarkable continuity. By the time of Sovietization, the Armenians were a highly experienced people in the art of resisting foreign domination and cultural assimilation. They resisted many Soviet policies as well, and in some cases quite effectively. Old forms of resistance were employed and new forms were devised to meet the Soviet challenge.

The period under consideration in this study begins with the Sovietization of Armenia in late 1920 and ends with the reorganization of Soviet Armenia as a Union Republic of the U.S.S.R. on December 5, 1936.[1] The year 1936 was chosen as a termination point for a number of reasons. By 1936 Soviet policies had achieved significant results in Armenia. These policies took many new and decisive turns in 1936: a

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[1]From March 12, 1922 to December 5, 1936 the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia was a constituent member of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which in turn was a constituent member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

severe purge in that year wiped out a large part of the Armenian intelligentsia; divorce laws were tightened and emphasis on family stability increased; and the government of Soviet Armenia was formally recognized on the basis of a new constitution. Furthermore, available materials for a study of Soviet Armenia prior to 1936 are more abundant and revealing than materials for the subsequent period.

One of the greatest problems in the preparation of this study was the scarcity of source materials outside the Soviet Union. In the United States the most valuable materials were found at the Hoover Library at Stanford University, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and Harvard University Library. A few sources were obtained from libraries in England and France. Some very valuable sources which were unavailable in libraries of the United States were purchased by the writer from a private book dealer in France.

Another problem encountered in the preparation of this study was the evaluation of sources. Practically all available sources were intensely pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet in content. In dealing with this problem, the writer drew upon experience and information she acquired while studying Russian history at Stanford University and Near Eastern history at Stanford and at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon. In a number of cases material which she

suspected of partisan distortion was presented in unevaluated form with appropriate identification of its source. The writer was unable to observe directly conditions in Soviet Armenia or to interview Soviet Armenian emigrés. In consequence this study has all the limitations of a work based entirely on written sources.

Most of the materials used were written in the Russian or the Armenian language. The Armenian language used in the publications of Soviet Armenia is full of words and expressions borrowed from Russian, French, and English. Most of these words and expressions are not found in Armenian dictionaries available in the United States, and it was necessary to infer their meaning from context. A special glossary of these words and expressions is presented as Appendix II.

The first two sections of this study are devoted to Armenian social history and to an analysis of the institutions and values of traditional Armenian culture. In the next section the crucial developments which immediately preceded the Sovietization of Armenia are outlined. The fourth and fifth sections constitute the main body of the study. They are devoted to Soviet Armenia in the period of the New Economic Policy (1921-1928) and during the first two Five Year Plans (1929-1936). An evaluation of the impact of

Soviet policies on Armenian culture during the period 1920-1936 is presented in the concluding section.

CHAPTER I

ARMENIA TO 1828

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ARMENIA TO 1828

Ethnography and Geography

In order to appreciate fully the significance of the Soviet impact on Armenian culture, a few general remarks on Armenia prior to 1828 are essential. The following questions must be considered: who are the Armenians? Where do they live? What have been their most important experiences as a people?

The Armenians are a mixed race, but one of the least mixed races because their ethnic formation was virtually complete in the early historical period.[1] The original Armenians were Indo-Europeans who left the Balkan Peninsula toward the end of the second millenium B.C. and moved into Anatolia. In about the seventh century B.C. they conquered the Japhetic inhabitants of Urartu, a kingdom located in the territory now called Armenia. The Armenians also had extensive contact with the Hittites of Anatolia. Both the Urartians and the Hittites contributed strains to the present

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[1] A. Abeghian, "History of Armenia," Armenian Review, II, No. 3 (1949), 4.

Armenian, or "Armenoid" racial type, which is characterized by short skull, flattened in the back; dark hair and eyes; light brown complexion; and convex nose with a depressed nasal tip.[2] There are regional variations of this type: long-skulled, narrow-faced, blond, blue-eyed, pink-white skinned individuals are also found among the Armenians.[3] The Armenians tend to be rather short and light: the men of military age in Soviet Armenia in 1927 were, on the average, five feet five inches tall and weighed about 129 pounds.[4]

The Armenian language is an independent branch of the Indo-European language group. Its vocabulary shows similarities to those of Greek and Persian. Armenian is written in a unique alphabet invented about 406 A.D.[5] The Armenians

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[2] R. Kherumian, Introduction à l'anthropologie du Caucase: Les Arméniens (Paris, 1943), p. 264.

[3] Abeghian, loc. cit., p. 5.

[4] Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniîu natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh [National Policy of the All-Union Communist Party in Figures] (Moscow, 1930), p. 319.

[5] Abeghian, loc. cit., p. 5.

call themselves "Hai" and their country, "Hayasdan." Since at least the sixth century B.C., however, the rest of the world has referred to them as "Armenians" and to their country as "Armenia."[6]

Christianity became the state religion of Armenia in about 301 A.D., twelve years before Christianity was officially tolerated in the Roman Empire by the Edict of Milan, and 87 years before it became the Roman state religion. Until the time of the Sovietization of Armenia, practically all Armenians were adherents of the Armenian Orthodox Church, which claimed apostolic origin.

Since the beginning of written history Armenians have been predominantly a settled agricultural people. The basic institutions of Armenian society have been the family, the village, the Armenian Church, and the Armenian Church schools.

A word should also be said about the land of the Armenians. Historic Armenia was a high tableland extending from southern Transcaucasia westward across south central Anatolia. The many mountains of the Armenian plateau provided strongholds for feudal lords, making the centralized control of Armenia difficult. A number of international

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[6] Ibid, p. 4.

trade routes crossed Armenia in ancient and medieval times and contributed to the prosperity and the importance of the country. Armenia lay between the Persian and Roman Empire during the first to seventh centuries A.D. and between the Islamic and the Byzantine Empire from the seventh to the eleventh centuries; it was partitioned several times and used as a battleground by these empires. Armenia was in the path of the Turanian invasions which moved westward in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, as well as the Mongol invasions of the Near East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It served as a battleground for the Ottoman and Persian Empires during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Geography has thus been an important factor in hindering the unification and independence of Armenia.

Present day Soviet Armenia is a landlocked area in the southwestern corner of Transcaucasia (that part of the Soviet Union lying south of the Caucasus Mountains). To the east of Soviet Armenia are Soviet Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea; to the southeast is Iran; to the southwest, Turkey; and to the northwest, Soviet Georgia and the Black Sea. Soviet Armenia is a mountainous region made up of several high plateaus, surrounded by high mountain crests, and a small lowland area consisting of the Arax Valley and the adjacent Erivan Basin. More than half of the total area of Soviet

Armenia is over 4,000 feet above sea level, and only 4% of the total area is below 2,000 feet above sea level.[7]

Spring comes early in Armenia; by the end of May the grass on the tablelands begins to dry up, and harvesting must be done in late June. Summers are short, and the hard winter begins in early December, bringing severe cold and storms.[8] Only about 22% of all land in Soviet Armenia is cultivable.[9] Hydroelectric power is the principal source of energy for industry, since Soviet Armenia is poor in coal, petroleum, and forests. The principal subsoil resources of Soviet Armenia are copper and construction stone (volcanic tuff and pumice).[10]

Sketch of the Social History of Eastern Armenia to the Time of the Russian Conquest (1828)

The first civilized people who are known to have lived in Armenia were the Urartians, whose kingdom flourished there from the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. The Urartians were skilled in the arts of masonry, irrigation, metallurgy, and ceramics. In the seventh century B.C. the Armenians

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[7] H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, (London, 1901), I, 56.

[8] F. A. Ross et al., The Near East and American Philanthropy (New York, 1929), p. 33.

[9] Armenia, (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaia Armeniia v tsifrakh, 1923-1927 [Soviet Armenia in Figures 1923-1927] (Erivan, 1928), pp. 2-3.

[10] T. Shabad, Geography of the USSR (New York, 1951), p. 420.

marched from Anatolia into the Arax Valley and brought the Urartians under their rule. The Armenians incorporated some of the arts and the vocabulary of the Urartians into Armenian culture.

The Armenians first appeared in written history in the sixth century B.C. as allies of Cyrus I, founder of the Persian Achaemenian Empire. An independent Armenian kingdom was founded in the second century B.C., which reached its climax under the rule of Tigranes II (95-56 B.C.), when the boundaries of the Armenian kingdom were extended from the Arax Valley to the borders of Phoenicia, from the Pontic Mountains to the Mesopotamian Plain.

Armenia became a buffer state between the Persian and Roman Empire in the first century A.D. A branch of the Persian Arsacid Dynasty came to rule Armenia. When the Sassanid Dynasty came to power in Persia in 226 A.D., Armenia began to take a more westward, Greco-Roman orientation.[11] King Tiridates II (287-337) and St. Gregory the Illuminator (257-332), the key figures in the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, both received higher education in Hellenic centers, as did other young men of the Armenian nobility.[12]

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[11]Abeghian, loc. cit., p. 10.

[12]K. A. Sarafian, A History of Education in Armenia (La Verne, California, 1930), p. 30.

During the first three centuries A.D. a feudal system developed in Armenia. Land was held by the nobility and by the church. The nobility were vassals of the Artashid king. In the Armenian kingdom the highest state offices were held by noble families as a hereditary right. At the top of the nobility were the ishkhans, who ruled whole provinces, followed by the nakharars, who were vassals of the ishkhans and ruled districts. Below the nakharars were the azads, a numerous class of tax-free small landowners who were vassals either of the king or of the higher nobles. The nobles had hereditary right to ownership and administration of their lands. The eldest son inherited the most important parts of the lands, while the younger sons received smaller allotments. The peasants, or shinagans, constituted the lowest social class; they paid quit-rent to the nobles or to the Church. Higher in status than the peasants, but lower than the nobles, were the merchants and artisans of the towns, who profited from the development of world trade routes across Armenia. The towns had a separate administration and militia and were subject to the ishkhans. This social structure survived in Armenia until the time of the Turanian invasions in the eleventh century.[13]

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[13] Y. A. Manandian, "A Brief Survey of the History of Ancient Armenia," Armenian Review, III, No. 4 (1951), 11-12 and H. Pasdermadjian, Histoire de l'Arménie (Paris, 1949), pp. 159-161.

Christianity existed in Armenia before the fourth century; according to tradition, St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew founded the Armenian Church in the first century. But about 301 A.D. St. Gregory, a member of the Armenian royal family, converted King Tiridates II to Christianity. The latter proclaimed Christianity as the state religion of Armenia. A royal school and numerous other state schools were established to teach Christian principles to the people.[14] In about 406 A.D. an Armenian monk, St. Mesrop Mashtots, brought together certain characters and invented others to form a special alphabet for the Armenian language. St. Sahak, the Catholikos (head) of the Armenian Church, and his assistants translated the Bible into Armenian by about 410. The Church founded Armenian schools in which the Armenian language and literature, the Bible, and the subjects of the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) were studied. In the fifth century the Greek classics were translated into Armenian and original writing in the Armenian alphabet began.[15] The Armenian Church broke away from the Christian Church centered at Constantinople after the Synod of Douine (506) and all subsequent attempts at reunion failed.[16]

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[14] Sarafian, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

[15] Ibid., pp. 49-83, passim.

[16] M. Ormanian, The Church of Armenia (London, 1912), pp. 30-35.

During the wars between the Byzantines and Persians in the sixth and early seventh centuries, Armenia became a battlefield; and, with the disruption of international trade, it fell back into a barter economy. But the Armenian feudal system survived through this period and also in the next period (650-887), when Armenia was under Islamic domination. Indeed, the nobles of Armenia increased their influence in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, some allying with the Byzantines and some with the Moslems. When the Abbasid Empire weakened, an Armenian noble, Ashot Bagratuni, was recognized in 885 as King of Armenia by both the Caliph and the Byzantine Emperor. The Bagratid Dynasty lasted until 1077, when it was deposed by the Byzantines. In the Bagratid period Armenian cities, notably Ani, prospered; scholastic literature developed in the Armenian monastery schools; and the Armenian feudal system flourished.[17]

The dark age of Eastern Armenia began with its conquest by the Seljuk Turks during 1063-1072. It was desolated by the Mongols in 1242-1244, by the Mamluks in 1375, and by the Mongols again in 1395. Only a remnant of the Armenian nobles maintained a degree of autonomy in the mountains of Zangezur and Karabakh.[18]

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[17] Manandian, loc. cit., pp. 12-25 and Abeghian, loc. cit., pp. 12-13.

[18] Manandian, loc. cit., pp. 26-32.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries Eastern Armenia again became a battleground, this time for the Ottoman Turks and the Safavid Dynasty of Persia. Thousands of Armenians were deported by the Turks to Anatolia, and by the Persians, to Persia.[19] By the Treaty of 1620, Persia retained Eastern Armenia (Erivan, Nakhichevan, and Karabakh districts);[20] another series of wars followed, and in 1746 Persia and Turkey again signed a treaty, whereby the Erivan, Nakhichevan, and Zangezur districts were retained by Persia.[21] Russia then began its southern march into Transcaucasia. By the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813 it officially acquired Georgia, northern Azerbaijan, and Karabakh from Persia; by the Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1828, it acquired the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan also.[22]

The Armenian social system in Eastern Armenia, by the time of its annexation to Russia, had undergone a number of changes. Eastern Armenia under Persian rule was divided into a number of principalities, each headed by an Armenian noble, or melik, or Moslem noble (bek, khan, or agalar), who were vassals of the Shah of Persia. A number of Armenian

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[19] Abeghian, loc. cit., p. 16.

[20] Pasdermadjian, op. cit., p. 276.

[21] H. Asdourian, Badmoutiun hayotz [History of the Armenians] (Buenos Aires, 1947), p. 358.

[22] Pasdermadjian, op. cit., pp. 339-340.

feudal lords held control of Zangezur and Karabakh. In the Erivan Khanate (the heart of present-day Soviet Armenia) the local Armenian and Moslem nobles were subordinate to a sardar, an official of Moslem origin appointed by the Shah. Separate settlements were administered by Moslem naibs (chiefs) or Armenian meliks.[23] The Armenian noble families were relatively few, for many had lost their lands to Moslem nobles. There were no barriers of rank between Armenian nobles and peasants when it came to contracting marriage.[24]

The majority of Armenian peasants were on crown lands; these peasants handed over about one-third of their harvest to the government.[25] Others lived on the lands of Moslem and Armenian nobles. About 30% of the villages of the Khanate were on the lands of these great private landlords. Private holdings were of two types, mulkadar and tiul. Mulkadar holdings were hereditary and did not depend on the holding of a government post; tiul holdings, as a rule, could be held only for life or for the duration of service in a government post. The peasants of the villages

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[23] A. M. Esaian, Mul'kadarskoe pravo v Armenii [Mulkadar Law in Armenia] (Erivan, 1948), p. 8.

[24] A. F. L. M. Haxthausen-Abbenburg (henceforth cited as Haxthausen), Transcaucasia (London, 1854), pp. 212-216.

[25] Esaian, op. cit., pp. 13 and 43.

on these holdings paid both taxes to the Shah and rent to the landlords, their total obligations being about equal to those of peasants on crown lands. The large private land-holdings were found only in the lowland areas of the Khanate. Serfdom, in the sense of the binding of the peasant to the soil of a definite landowner, did not exist. The mulkadars and tiulists could not deprive the peasants within their holdings of land or evict them from their villages. The peasant could leave the land if he chose, but such cases were unusual.[26] The peasants on church or mosque land (wakf) paid the religious institutions dues similar to those paid by peasants on private holdings. The Armenian and Moslem clergy were exempt from taxes.[27]

In the mountainous regions of Armenia the peasants worked the land on communal principles; in the lowland irrigated areas, many communes had been broken up by sale, and individual households cared for individual portions of land.[28]

The town of Erivan was the seat of the Sardar and was separately administered. Here merchants enjoyed a limited prosperity by supplying the demands of the Sardar

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[26] Ibid., pp. 43-61, passim.

[27] J. Loris-Melikoff, La révolution russe et les nouvelles républiques transcaucasiennes (Paris, 1920), p. 57.

[28] Esaian, op. cit., p. 65.

and his retinue. There were numerous small handicraft enterprises, employing primitive technique, throughout Eastern Armenia. Commerce and industry were almost entirely devoted to serving local needs.[29]

By the time of its annexation to Russia, Eastern Armenia was almost completely under the domination of Moslem officials and landlords. In addition, at least half of the peasant population consisted of Moslems. But although the Armenians were not the masters of their land, they nevertheless enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. Most Armenian nobles had lost their ancient privileges, but the Melik of Erivan was a kind of national judge for the Armenians of Eastern Armenia, for the decisions of village elders could be appealed to him. The Armenian Church had jurisdiction of the Armenian parochial schools and over marriage and divorce among Armenians. Thus, to a large extent Armenian society was a self-governing unit.

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[29] G. Pichikian, Narodnoe khoz͡ai͡istvo i kooperatsi͡a Armenii [People's Economy and Cooperation in Armenia] (Tiflis, 1927), pp. 6-9.

CHAPTER II

ARMENIA UNDER RUSSIAN RULE, 1828-1917

Yesterday we were an ecclesiastical community;
tomorrow we shall be a nation of workers and thinkers.

---Krikor Ardzruni, 1872.

CHAPTER II

ARMENIA UNDER RUSSIAN RULE, 1828-1917

Outline of Developments, 1828-1881

Many Armenians regarded the Russian annexation as the liberation of Eastern Armenia, but they were soon to be disappointed. Russian taxes were heavier. Moslem landlords were given administrative and judicial rights over Armenian villages. Some Armenians were forced to render compulsory labor in Russian factories.[1] In 1836 the Russian government closed a number of the schools of the Armenian Church and greatly reduced the teaching of the Armenian language in the remaining schools. According to the Polozhenie of 1836, which regulated the relations between the Armenian Church and the Russian government, the Catholikos of the Armenian Church had to be confirmed by the Tsar before he could be installed in office.[2]

A series of government decrees (in 1846, 1847 and 1851) regulating relations between landlords and peasants in Armenia provided that (1) the beks, khans, agalars, and meliks be confirmed in the possession of the lands they had

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[1] B. A. Borian, Armeniя, mezhdunarodnaя diplomatiя i SSSR [Armenia, International Diplomacy, and the USSR] (Moscow, 1928), I, 151 and 322.

[2] Pasdermadjian, op. cit., p. 346.

held at the time of annexation or had acquired since; (2) lands could be inherited, given, or sold to members of the Moslem upper class or to persons, who, according to the general laws of the Empire were "fit to own private property"; (3) full administrative power over the peasants, formerly enjoyed only by the agalars, be extended to khans, beks, and meliks holding villages in mulkadar and tiul right; and (4) the peasants must pay the landlords rent in kind (two-fifteenths of produce) and in cash, and must provide a certain amount of days of labor in the fields, gardens, and households of the landlords.[3]

Thus the Russians chose to bolster their regime in Armenia with Moslem support, rather than to liberate the Armenians from Moslem rule. Nevertheless, Russian rule did bring about a number of changes in Armenia during the first part of the nineteenth century. Lands in Armenia were given to Russian sectarians (Dukhobors, Molokans, etc.) who had broken away from the Russian Orthodox Church. These Russian colonists introduced the technique of constructing ox-carts (furgons) in Armenia, and the furgon became the standard means of transportation in the country. Postal and telegraph communication was established between the main towns. Armenia was opened to Russian and foreign capital,

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[3]Esaian, op. cit., pp. 72-79.

and a German baron established a dairy farm in the Lori district which became a model for the Armenian dairy industry in the latter part of the century. Russian goods, notably tea, sugar, coffee, and textiles, became standard articles in Armenian commerce. Many Armenians, notably those of Alexandropol, earned a living by supplying the needs of Russian troops stationed in the country, and the Armenian merchant class increased in size and wealth.[4]

In 1861 the serfs of Russian were declared emancipated, but no changes in the land tenure system of Armenia were made until 1870. The Decree of May, 1870, provided that the peasants on mulkadar holdings could redeem their lands from the landlords; but the conditions of redemption were so difficult that by 1906 only forty desiatiny had been redeemed of the 76,986 desiatiny assigned to mulkadar peasants in 1870. Peasants received land not as their own property, but in exchange for rent and labor dues. One-sixth of the land of the village commune was reserved for the personal use of the landlord. Up to 1912 the Armenian peasant could alienate land only to another member of his commune. The commune as a whole could alienate only one-sixth of its land. Land reform affecting peasants on tiul

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[4]O. E. Tumanian, Razvitie ekonomiki Armenii s nachala XIX veka do ustanovleniia Sovetskoi vlasti [Growth of the Economy of Armenia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Establishment of Soviet Power] (Erivan, 1947), pp. 66-67 and 87-89.

and crown lands was not instituted until 1900.[5] In general, land reforms in Armenia had little effect on social change during the nineteenth century.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the district of Kars was annexed to the Russian-held portion of Armenia. Several Armenian generals in the Russian Army took leading roles in the Transcaucasian front during this war. In the period 1828-1881 a number of Armenians attained distinction in the Russian government as well as in the Russian army. The most notable case was that of General Loris-Melikian (or, Loris-Melikov) (1825-1888), who was named Minister of Interior with extraordinary powers by Tsar Alexander II. Loris-Melikian helped to persuade the Tsar to grant a constitution to the Empire, but on March 13, 1881, the very day the constitution was to be promulgated, Alexander II was assassinated. His successor, Alexander III, dismissed Loris-Melikian, took a generally reactionary course in the governing of the Empire as a whole, and initiated a period of repression of the Armenians in particular.[6]

Patterns of Traditional Armenian Culture

Before proceeding with the history of Eastern Armenia under Russian rule, it seems desirable to describe

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[5] Esaian, op. cit., pp. 90-115, passim and p. 133.

[6] Pasdermadjian, op. cit., pp. 317 and 423.

the principal characteristics of Armenian institutions and Armenian values as observed in the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century. Many of the characteristics of Armenian culture at this time survived up to the time of Sovietization and even during the period of Soviet rule. The analysis of Armenian culture given here is the point of reference for all discussion of the changes that followed.

The Family

"The patriarchal character of the Armenian nation is reflected in the microcosm of its family life," said the German scholar, Haxthausen, after a visit to Armenia in the middle of the nineteenth century. Such a statement seems well justified.

The Armenian family was a monogamous kin group, issuing from one father by the descending line and its branches, and living together under one roof or in neighboring houses.[7] Before the nineteenth century a rural family might be made up of twenty to fifty members, but in Soviet times such large family units could be found only in the remote

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[7] V. A. Bdoian, "Krovnorodstvennyi 'azg' i rodstvennye otnosheniĵa u armĵan [Blood-related "Azg" and Kin Relationships Among the Armenians] Sovetskaĵa Etnografiĵa, No. 1 (1952), p. 190.

mountainous regions of Armenia, such as Zangezur.[8] The justification for large families in Armenia was the need for many hands to do agricultural and domestic work in the times when the population was relatively sparse, when land was relatively abundant, and when extensive agriculture was carried on by primitive technique.[9]

The head, or patriarch, of the Armenian family was usually its eldest male member. The members of the family included the patriarch, his wife, their sons, the wives of married sons, and all unmarried daughters. In some cases the brothers of the patriarch, and their families, were included.[10]

All family income was at the disposal of the patriarch. He directed all the work of the family and handled its economic transactions. In more or less important affairs the patriarch consulted the adult members of the family, but once he made a decision, the whole family had to obey him. The patriarch also represented the family in relations with other families; settled conflicts within the family; and in

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[8] A. F. Liaister and G. F. Chursin, Geografiia Zakavkaz'ia [Geography of Transcaucasia] (Tiflis, 1929), p. 189, and P. Descamps, "La formation sociale des Arméniens," La Science Sociale, Ann. 41, per. 3, fasc. 5 (1926), p. 108.

[9] Descamps, loc. cit., p. 28.

[10] R. T. La Piere, "The Armenian Colony in Fresno County, California" (Doctor's dissertation, Stanford University, 1930), pp. 57-58.

some cases even dissolved marriages of family members concluded against his will.[11]

The wife of the patriarch, or dandigin, was in charge of all work within the house and administered the activities of all feminine members of the family. The patriarch could give orders to the women of the family only through the dandigin. When the patriarch died, the direction of the women of the house passed to the wife of the new patriarch. The dandigin was subordinate to her husband in the last analysis, but in her own way she could exert influence in settling conflicts within the family, arranging marriages for the children, and other matters.[12]

Within the family there was a hierarchy of status, based on the principles of the superiority of the elder and of the male.[13] Sons were allowed greater freedom, given more care, and their wishes given more consideration than those of daughters. Once a girl married she was no longer considered a member of the family of her birth. There is an Armenian proverb: "A girl is a lamp for strangers, a slave of strangers."[14]

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[11]Bdoian, loc. cit., p. 191 and La Piere, op. cit., p. 58.

[12]A. Megavorian, Etude ethnographique i juridique sur la famille et le marriage arméniens (Lausanne, 1894), pp. 66-68.

[13]La Piere, op. cit., p. 66 and Descamps, loc. cit., p. 9.

[14]Bdoian, loc. cit., p. 192.

When a new bride entered her husband's household she was required to perform the most unpleasant chores, such as washing the feet of the men. For some time she could not speak to the men or older women of the house, or even with her husband when in public. Her status was raised when she grew older, when she gave birth to a son, and when a bride newer than herself entered the household.[15]

All members of the same generation, including cousins, regarded each other as brothers and sisters. In some cases an aunt or maternal uncle (mother's brother) might have a more affectionate relationship with the child than its own parents.[16]

The duties of family members included collective defense of the property, general interests, and "honor" of the family. The seduction or rape of a women from one family by a man from another family might lead to an inter-family feud lasting over many years, as the entire family of the offender was held responsible for his misdeed. Every member of the family had to share in the communal work and turn over any outside income he might earn to the common family fund, administered by the patriarch.[17]

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[15]La Piere, op. cit., p. 67.

[16]Ibid., p. 224.

[17]Bdoian, loc. cit., pp. 189-191.

Armenian children were usually born at home with a midwife in attendance. The birth of a boy was received with great rejoicing. The child was baptized and confirmed in the Armenian Church forty days after its birth. Then it was wrapped tightly in swaddling and tied in a cradle.[18] From the age of three or four, children played in the streets without supervision. At the age of eight boys in rural Armenia began to help with the agricultural work, while girls cared for the younger children and did housework. Children usually received no formal education at home, but they learned the basic values of Armenian culture in everyday experience.[19] In the towns, the children of artisans learned a trade through apprenticeship at an early age, and many boys were able to support themselves by the age of fourteen.[20]

When girls reached the age of puberty they were no longer allowed to play with boys. Outside the family group adolescents met each other only at the village fountain, at

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[18]G. Bunʃatov, "Domashnee vospitanie u armʃan Erivanskoi gubernii," [Home Education Among the Armenians of Erivan Gubernia] Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, No. 4 (1894), pp. 164-165.

[19]Ibid., p. 167.

[20]Descamps, loc. cit., p. 44.

church, or during the dancing and singing at weddings and other festivals.[21] Loss of virginity before marriage was the greatest disgrace for a girl, and her chances of marriage thereafter were slim. Greater tolerance was shown unmarried boys.[22]

Marriages were usually arranged by the adults of the families concerned, and romantic attraction (if there was any) was a secondary consideration to the mutual benefits the match might bring to the respective families. Sometimes children were engaged while still in the cradle.[23] For a couple to be married it was necessary that they be of minimum age (usually thirteen for girls and fifteen for boys), and not related closer than by seven degrees of blood relationship. In rural communities girls usually married in their middle teens and boys in their late teens. An unmarried girl of twenty was considered an old maid.[24] The consent of the spouses and of their parents to the marriage was usually required.[25] Marriages were usually celebrated in church, although in remote settlements a ceremony around the family hearth might be substituted.[26] A member of the Armenian

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[21] A. Tchobanian, La femme arménienne (Paris, 1918), p. 14.

[22] La Piere, op. cit., p. 73. [23] Megavorian, op. cit., p. 72.

[24] Laister and Chursin, op. cit., p. 289.

[25] La Piere, op. cit., p. 76, and Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 224.

[26] Laister and Chursin, op. cit., p. 289.

Church might marry a person of another religion only if that person abandoned his religion and joined the Armenian Church; but in case the other party to the marriage belonged to another Christian sect, the marriage was permitted if it was blessed in the Armenian Church.[27]

The chief duty of newlyweds was to perpetuate the family along the male line.[28] Once married a woman entered a life of seclusion and discipline. A woman subject to the authority of her mother-in-law for many years might become a petty tyrant when she herself assumed authority.[29] Husband and wife were expected to be absolutely faithful to each other. Infidelity was rare and severely punished, especially in the case of a guilty wife.[30] When a married woman went out in public she covered the lower part of her face with a tightly-

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[27]Megavorian, op. cit., p. 100.

[28]G. F. Chursin, Armĉane Zangezura [The Armenians of Zangezur] (Tiflis, 1931), p. 240.

[29]La Piere, op. cit., p. 66.

[30]Ibid., p. 76 and Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 224.

wrapped scarf and threw a large white veil over her head and shoulders.[31] If a stranger entered the house she concealed herself.[32]

Divorce might be granted by the Armenian Church in case of adultery by either husband or wife, although it was less often granted in case of adultery by the husband. The guilty party in such a divorce might not remarry. Divorce might also be granted on a number of other grounds, including "inconquerable repulsion" between husband and wife. However, divorces were rare among Armenians.[33]

Elderly parents usually lived with their sons, who were expected to support them. Older persons were treated with respect, but if the patriarch became senile, he passed his authority over to his eldest son or brother, either voluntarily or as a result of family pressure.[34] According to the Armenian proverb, "The old man at home should not show too much wit."[35]

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[31] Laister and Chursin, op. cit., p. 287.

[32] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 226.

[33] Megavorian, op. cit., pp. 113-124.

[34] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[35] G. Bayan, Armenian Proverbs and Sayings (Venice, 1897), p. 55.

The members of the family lived either under the same roof or in buildings grouped together in a certain quarter of a settlement. Every effort was made to prevent strange families from moving into the quarter. Within the family quarter the buildings were often linked by openings (aknat) in the continuous wall between the houses. Such openings were also found between houses of members of different family groups, if such families were on friendly terms. Through their aknat the various units of the family group could communicate with each other and with their neighbors, without leaving their houses. In this way news circulated quickly in a way completely unobserved by outsiders. Such an arrangement contributed to family and village solidarity and facilitated the common defense in emergencies.[36]

There were usually two rooms in the Armenian house: a reception room, or ottag,and a general living apartment. The ottag was used for receiving guests and served as the winter apartment of the family. Adjoining the ottag, and open to it, was the stable; in the winter the body heat generated by the animals helped to keep the family warm. In the center of the earthen floor of the ottag was the

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[36]Bdoian, loc. cit., pp. 190-191.

tonir, a hole dug in the ground in which a fire was lit. The tonir was used as an oven for baking bread; and in the winter the family huddled around it under blankets to keep warm. Over the tonir a hole in the roof let out the smoke and usually served as the only window in the room. In the general living room adjoining the ottag there was a hearth dug in the earthern floor, over which most of the cooking was done. In this room children were brought up, as well as chickens, lambs and other young animals. Male visitors seldom entered this room unless they were near relatives of the head of the house. Some houses had only one room, in which both hearth and tonir were located.[37]

The productive activity of the family was divided into two spheres: that of the men, and that of the women. Within each sphere work was communal, and duties were assigned according to ability. The women prepared meals, made the clothing for the family, attended to the dairy animals and poultry, and made rugs, mats, bedding, soap, candles, and pottery for the household. Men did all the field work, milling of grain, construction of houses and furniture, and working of leather.[38] Sometimes several

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[37]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 184; Haxthausen, op. cit., pp. 208-209; and M. S. Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii [Journey Through Soviet Armenia] (Moscow, 1951), pp. 109-110.

[38]La Piere, op. cit., p. 59.

families worked together in such tasks as the construction of houses.[39] All family property, except the dowries of the married women, was held in common under the management of the patriarch.[40]

If an extended family were dissolved into smaller units the members lost prestige in the community; therefore every effort was made to prevent such dissolution.[41] However, dissolution might take place upon the death of the patriarch or during his lifetime under the following conditions: (1) if the family had become too large to administer efficiently; (2) if disharmony developed between brothers, between sons and uncles, or between sisters-in-law; (3) if the patriarch became tyrannical; and (4) if a son or sons refused to turn over their entire income to the common family treasury administered by the patriarch.[42]

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[39]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 184.

[40]Megavorian, op. cit., p. 62.

[41]Ibid., p. 63.

[42]La Piere, op. cit., p. 62.

At the time of dissolution the ochag, or family line of succession, and the house usually went to the eldest brother or eldest son of the patriarch. Valuable immovable property, such as flour mills, might remain under joint family management. All other property was divided equally between brothers, regardless of age or the number of their offspring. It was customary for unmarried girls to renounce their rights to inheritance in favor of their brothers, who cared for the girls until they were married. Once a girl married she gave up all rights to the property of the family. If the patriarch or his wife were still living at the time of the family dissolution, they resided with one of the sons, who received an extra portion of property for the support of the aged parents.[43]

In relations with outsiders, the members of the family were often suspicious and hostile. Between friendly families, however, "fraternization" might be accomplished by a ritual: the young men and girls of the families cut their little finger and sucked each other's blood; after this they had the right to participate in inter-family groups. Such families in effect had signed a neutrality and non-aggression pact.[44]

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[43] Ibid., op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[44] Bdoian, loc. cit., p. 192.

Strangers were generally distrusted, but a stranger who was a guest in the house was shown every form of courtesy.[45]

Family solidarity was based on mutual interest and respect. The family hearth and the spinning wheel were the symbols of this solidarity. The spinning wheel appeared on the rubles of the Armenian Republic (1918-1920). Leon Surmelian said, "The spinning wheel was the symbol of the Armenian home, and our home, with its Christian purity and grace, the secret of our racial survival."[46]

The Village

The origin of the Armenian village was the patriarchal family group, which fought together in war and then established a settlement. There were villages in Armenia in 1894 in which all the inhabitants bore the same family name.[47] The Armenian village usually consisted of ten to one hundred families.[48] Communication between villages was infrequent and each village was a more or less complete and self-sufficient economic unit.[49]

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[45]N. Dolens, "Ce que l'on voit en Arménie," Le Tour du Monde N. S., Ann. 12 (1906), p. 522.

[46]L. Z. Surmelian, I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen (New York, 1945), p. 226.

[47]Megavorian, op. cit., pp. 52-54.

[48]La Piere, op. cit., p. 44. [49]Ibid., p. 84.

The traveller H. F. B. Lynch has given an effective description of an Armenian village (Norashen, on the road from Alexandropal to Erivan):

> Let the reader picture to himself rude structures of stone and wood and earth, which, at one end, issue upon irregular little lanes, and, at the other, are buried into a slope of the ground. Through such entrances you pass into subterranean chambers which serve as stables and as living rooms. In the midst of these sordid surroundings four stone walls are a prominent object; they belong to a little chapel, which has a roof of sods and a bare interior; the bells are hung in a wooden structure at the side. Men with tanned complexions, deep wrinkles, and bent knees issue from the tenements and slouch along the lanes. Children crowd around you, their little stomachs unduly swollen and barely covered by a single cotton shirt.... Such is the description, with variations, applied to most of these villages, and is true of Norashen.[50]

Custom, not law, was the principal means of social control in the village, and village officials were few. The headman (*danuder* or *starshina*) was elected by all the adult males of the village. In rare cases a women (such as the widow of a patriarch) could vote and hold office.[51] In some villages an old noble Armenian family had the right to appoint the headman. Two to five village elders were also elected or appointed. The headman and elders held office for life unless they resigned or were deposed for misconduct.[52]

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[50] Lynch, *op. cit.*, I, 134.

[51] Descamps, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[52] Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

The duties of these officials included levying crown taxes (at the same time protecting the villagers from extortion by the tax collectors of the central government); keeping order in the village; deciding disputes over boundaries and property rights; entertaining visitors to the village; appointing herdsmen and assigning pasturage; appointing irrigation officials; and organizing the defense of the village against trespassers and raiders.[53] Usually fear of village disapproval or the existance of village disapproval were sufficient to force the people of the village to conform to custom.[54]

For administrative and economic purposes the members of the village were sometimes divided into "tens," consisting of relatives or persons having common economic interests. All taxes were divided in the village according to the number of tens. Duties in connection with irrigation were distributed among the tens. The ten was also police unit forming a night guard against brigands. The head of the ten, usually chosen from among the elders of the group, was its inspector and arbiter. He defended the interests of the ten and was also a natural deputy of the headman.[55]

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[53]La Piere, op. cit., p. 28 and Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 211.

[54]La Piere, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

[55]Loris-Melikoff, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

In case the population of a village consisted of several nationalities (Armenian, Tartars, Georgians, etc.), each people preserved its own separate religion, customs, tribunals, and police, and there was scarcely any social inter-mingling between the nationalities.[56]

There were no sharp class distinctions within the village, but in some villages there were ochag families, constituting the dominant element. Generally such families were old and well-established; their position was partly hereditary, but depended upon economic superiority in the long run. However, a poor family which suddenly became rich did not ipso facto become an ochag family.[57] There is an Armenian proverb, "If a rich man becomes poor, he is scented for years with his wealth; if a poor man grows rich, he stinks of poverty for forty years."[58]

Some of the distinguished families were called tarkhan (freemen) and were exempt from taxation; they might hold the hereditary right of appointing the headman of a village. Such families had no seignorial rights and received no dues and services from other villagers. The same

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[56]Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 72.

[57]La Piere, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[58]Armenian Literature (New York, 1901), p. 32.

should be said of the Armenian meliks, who were distinguished from the tarkhans by title only.[59]

The system of land allocation varied from village to village. In general, pastures were held communally. Ploughland, especially in the Arax Valley of Erivan province, might also be held communally, and would be divided once every seven years between families according to the number of members in the family. Sometimes irrigation canals, mills and ovens were also communal property.[60]

Labor was often organized communally, especially in Erivan province. In the lowlands heavy wooden plows, pulled by eight to ten pairs of oxen, were used. If a family was large and rich enough to supply a plough, ten to twelve pairs of oxen, ploughmen, and up to ten ox-drivers, it constituted an amp (about 16 persons), the basic unit for allocation of land. Such a family constituted a collective labor unit and received a full portion of land. However, in the nineteenth century most families equalled only one-fourth to one-half amp and received land proportionately; such families combined their equipment, working animals, and labor to form a full amp, which worked the allotments of individual members in turn.[61]

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[59]Haxthausen, op. cit., pp. 184 and 212 and La Piere, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[60]Megavorian, op. cit., p. 55.

[61]Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

There were several other rural activities which might be done communally. The cultivation of the fields of orphan children was a duty of the whole village. The women of the village might combine forces to do their spinning and weaving. The whole village might help build a new home for a family.[62] The working of gardens and rice fields and the making of wagons and wagon wheels was usually done collectively.[63]

There were no groups constituted on the basis of age or sex that were as important forms of social organization as the family or the village unit as a whole. The older men of the village would gather in the evenings in the home of the headman to discuss village affairs; the neighborhood women would sometimes gather to spin and weave together, where they would gossip and perhaps crystallize group opinion. Younger girls, who usually milked the goats, would have a chance to play together at sundown during milking time. But in none of these groupings was there much seclusion or the opportunity to form an outlook divergent from that of the family or of the village as a whole.[64] According to

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[62]Megavorian, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

[63]Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 185-186 and 190.

[64]La Piere, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

Lalayants, neighborliness was characteristic in the village, and every family accepted as an undeniable right that of interfering in the affairs of every other family.[65] Birth, marriage, and death were community affairs. Weddings in particular were times of celebration for the entire village, and all families were more or less obliged to bring presents.[66]

As in the family, the communal hearth, or oven of the village was a symbol of its solidarity, and was regarded as sacred by the community.[67] The village had a communal cemetery, in which each family had a plot; this too was sacred.[68] There was usually a church, a ruin, or a rock in the neighborhood of the village which, according to tradition, was the tomb of the common ancestor of the village inhabitants. This person, whose identity was mixed with that of some saint, was regarded as the protector of the community. Once a year the village held a festival in his honor.[69] Thus, although mutual interest was the basis of the solidarity of the village, its common tradition was its ideological justification.

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[65] Ibid., p. 84.

[66] Megavorian, op. cit., p. 57.

[67] Ibid., p. 55. [68] Ibid., p. 60.

[69] Ibid., p. 59.

The Town

There was only one important town in Eastern Armenia at the time of its annexation to Russia: that town was Erivan, which had a population of about 12,000 in 1828.[70] In the course of the nineteenth century the village of Gumri developed into the flourishing town of Alexandropal. Alexandropal bore the stamp of the Russian Army, which had an important post nearby. Russian textiles, tea, sugar, and coffee were exchanged in the local market and a large part of the town's business was concerned with supplying Russian troops. Alexandropol was not a typically Armenian town.[71]

Erivan was not an Armenian town either, strictly speaking. Armenians constituted less than half of its population.[72] However, it remained virtually untouched by Russian culture throughout most of the nineteenth century. After a visit to Erivan in 1877, Bryce wrote that it was "a thoroughly Eastern town, with just a little Russian varnish on one or two of its streets."[73] Erivan was divided in half

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[70]Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaîâ Armeniîâ v tsifrakh 1923-1927 [Soviet Armenia in Figures 1923-1927] (Erivan, 1928), p. 15.

[71]Tumanian, op. cit., pp. 87 and 89.

[72]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 5.

[73]J. Bryce, Transcaucasia and Ararat, 4th ed., (London, 1896), p. 188.

by the broad road from Tiflis and by the central park, located in the heart of the business quarter. The eastern half of the town was inhabited mostly by Tartars and the western half, by Armenians.[74] Business was carried on in the bazaar, a complex of long brick arcades, where dealers and artisans sat on divans behind their wares, sipping tea or smoking water pipes. The artisans usually sold their products directly to the consumer. There was no standardization of goods as to quantity or quality and all transactions were accompanied by bargaining.[75] In the first half of the nineteenth century 66% of the population of Erivan were artisans, 16% were small traders, 8% were landed nobility and clergy, and 10% were persons of undefined profession. In 1897 one-tenth of its population was engaged in agriculture and the proportion was probably higher in the early nineteenth century.[76]

When Armenia was under Persian rule a guild system developed in Armenian towns which was still in existence in the mid-nineteenth century. A guild was a group of artisans in a specialized occupation; it served as a mutual aid unit, had its own court and patron saint, and performed certain public functions--e.g., the shoemakers' guild provided beds for the public hospital. Masters usually paid their workmen

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[74] Lynch, op. cit., I, 211. [75] Bryce, op. cit., p. 188.

[76] Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 5 and 66.

in kind. Armenian and Tartar artisans were organized into separate guilds.[77]

Some women went around town making pottery and sewing, but Armenian women never engaged in business or the professions. Many town families made their own bread and bedding, buying only items which could not be obtained in the raw state, such as cheese. Neighborly assistance was not so common in the towns as in the villages.[78]

Outside the family household there was little discipline in town life. Most streets were unpaved, and the wind blew billowing clouds of stinging, gritty dust. Trash and excrement were rarely removed. Water flowed down the streets in dirty open drains, and there were always filthy puddles around the public hydrants. Traffic was unregulated, and vehicles passed on either the right or the left, depending on the inclination of their drivers. Petty traders could sit down and operate wherever they pleased.[79]

It may be concluded that the town had a very limited role in Armenian culture during the first part of the nineteenth

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[77]Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 194 and La Piere, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

[78]La Piere, op. cit., p. 92.

[79]Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, p. 132 and Descamps, loc. cit., p. 45.

century. It was a center of local commerce and the seat of Russian administration; but it had little importance in the formation of Armenian values.

The Church

All the great events in the life cycle of the Armenian--birth, marriage, and death--were celebrated and sanctified in the Armenian Church. It was here that the Armenian went to pray in time of spiritual need. It was here that he sought and found meaning in his everyday life. Christian morality was the ideal for his conduct; and the Armenian priest was the shepherd of his soul.

But the Armenian Church had an even greater significance. In it the traditions, mores, and literature of the Armenian nation were preserved. It was the intellectual center of the nation. In the absence of national secular institutions, it also was the repository and guide for the temporal hopes and fears of the nation. Finally, the Church itself was a symbol of the Armenian nation, the last vestige of a lost sovereignty. It was "the visible soul of the absent fatherland."[80]

In its relationship to Armenian society and culture, the Armenian Church was unique, but its doctrinal differences

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[80]Pasdermadjian, op. cit., pp. 290-292.

with the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches were relatively minor. The Armenian Church recognized only the decisions of the first three Christian Ecumenical Councils, accepting the doctrines of the Trinity, Redemption, and Incarnation as worked out by these councils. Its principal creed was the Athanasian formula, and it had another special creed, amplifying the first and setting forth the doctrine of the natures of Jesus Christ. The Armenian Church did not hold that there is no salvation for those who are outside its fold. It recognized the Roman Catholic Pope only as the Patriarch of the Latin Church in the West, and it did not accept the Roman doctrines of filioloque, indulgences, the particular judgment, the beatific vision, purgatory, transubstantiation, and papal infallibility. The Armenian Church granted divorces under the circumstances mentioned above. Its parish priests not only might marry - they had to be married before ordination.[81]

In the choice of the Catholikos, or head, of the Armenian Church the approval of the Russian Government was essential from the year 1768 on. After the Russian annexation of Eastern Armenia a Polozhenie, regulating the relations between the Government and the Armenian Church, was drawn up:

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[81] M. Ormanian, The Church of Armenia (London, 1912), pp. 104-116 and N. Maxoudian, "The Church of Armenia," Armenian Review, I, No. 1 (1928), 112-114.

it was promulgated in March, 1836, and the first Catholikos chosen under its provisions was Nerses V (in 1843). Throughout the period of Tsarist rule in Armenia the Polozhenie of 1836 was never replaced, although on several occasions it was violated. According to the Polozhenie, all congregations of the Armenian Church had full freedom of worship. The Armenian Church could not proselytize, however. Its clergy were exempt from all civil burdens. The rules and curricula of all church schools had to be approved by the Minister of Interior.[82]

The principle of the election of the Catholikos by the whole of the Armenian people adhering to the Church was expressing recognized by the Polozhenie. After the death of a Catholikos, an assembly gathered to name the Catholikos. It consisted of the spiritual head of each of the 60 dioceses of the Church (of which 52 were in the Ottoman Empire), a lay representative of each diocese, the eight members of the Synod at Echmiadzin, and the seven oldest members of the monastic Congregation of Echmiadzin. It should be pointed out that priests were in the majority at this assembly, and that the lay delegates were chosen by meliks and other distinguished laymen who had the right to vote by custom.

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[82] Lynch, op. cit., I, 233.

All Armenian bishops were eligible for the position of Catholikos. The assembly presented the names of the two candidates who received first and second place in the final voting to the Tsar, who could confirm either of the two as Catholikos.[83]

The Catholikos was advised by a Synod of eight priests resident at Echmiadzin. Each member of the Synod was appointed by the Tsar after the Catholikos submitted to him the names of two candidates. The Synod was under the titular chairmanship of the Tsar, and the Catholikos could not punish a member of the Synod without Imperial consent. The decrees of the Synod had to be approved by a procurator of the Government, resident at Echmiadzin, and were promulgated in the name of the Tsar. Even the minutes of the Synod had to be submitted to the procurator. In purely spiritual matters the Catholikos did not have to take the advice of the Synod, but in the general business of the Church and the Echmiadzin monastery the Synod had full jurisdiction. The Catholikos could act by bull, but it was contrary to tradition for bulls to be in contradiction to the resolutions of the Synod.[84]

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[83] Ibid., pp. 234-235; Ormanian, op. cit., p. 152; and Haxthausen, op. cit., pp. 309-310.

[84] Lynch, op. cit., I, 233-235.

When the head of a diocese (usually a bishop) died, the council of the diocese, six-sevenths of whose members were laymen, nominated two candidates for the position of head of the diocese; the Catholikos submitted these two names to the Tsar, who made the final choice. The Catholikos could not remove a bishop without Imperial consent. The spiritual affairs of the diocese were directed by a council consisting only of clergymen, while a council of laymen, elected by laymen, managed church property, schools, and temporal affairs in general.[85]

The clergy of the Armenian Church were divided into two classes: the celibate and the non-celibate. Parish priests had to be married before ordination. The grades of the celibate clergy, from lowest to highest, were deacon, monk-priest, doctor (vartabed), supreme doctor, bishop, archbishop, and Catholikos.[86]

The celibate clergy were trained in monasteries, but did not have to live in them after ordination. Their functions were to administer church affairs and to preach, but they did not usually administer sacraments. They were usually better educated than the parish priests, and were

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[85]Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 137 and 152.

[86]Ibid., pp. 131 and 141-144.

favored in promotion to higher positions.[87] By the middle of the nineteenth century the monastic institutions of the Armenian Church had fallen into decay, according to the report of Haxthausen; most monks were ambitious hypocrites, greedy, envious, even sensual.[88]

The parish priest had to be elected unanimously by his parish, and was ordained by the bishop of his diocese. In some parishes there were several priests, in which case the households were divided among them, and one priest was the named head-priest.[89] Most Armenian villages had a resident priest. The parish priest was often only semi-literate and not always of model moral character, but he was close to the people.[90] He performed sacraments, cared for the sick and poor, and was the spiritual shepherd of the households who had chosen him. A parish priest might engage in secular work on the side.[91] He received no regular stipend,

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[87] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

[88] Haxthausen, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

[89] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 315.

[90] Lynch, op. cit., I, 275.

[91] L. A. Boettiger, Armenian Legends and Festivals (Minneapolis, 1920), p. 54.

but was given special fees for officiating at weddings, baptisms and funerals as well as the proceeds for the Sunday collection plate. Often the position of parish priest passed from father to son, each generation continuing to reside in the same parish.[92]

The income of the Catholikos consisted mainly of gifts from Armenians abroad and the revenues of the properties of the monastery of Echmiadzin. The latter included the lands of a number of villages in the Arax Valley and other estates in the Russian Empire. The peasants on these lands paid rents in money and kind to the church and were exempt from government taxes. The Catholikos was paid by the dioceses for the consecration of the holy oil and by bishops who came to be ordained. The income of the Catholikos supported the monastery, and the theological seminary of Echmiadzin.[93]

The obligations of church members were to attend some part of the mass and refrain from servile work on Sundays; to confess and take communion at least three times a year - at Christmas, Easter, and Assumption (August 15); to abstain from animal products on Wednesdays and Fridays and forty-eight days before Easter; and to follow the teachings of the Church.[94]

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[92]Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 141, 146-148, and 170.

[93]Haxthausen, op. cit., pp. 236, 284-285, and 315.

[94]Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 175-179.

It was customary for the heads of the distinguished families of Russian Armenia to make pilgrimages to Echmiadzin at the time of the great Church festivals and present gifts to the Catholikos and monks.[95]

The Armenian parish priest was an intimate part of village life. The village priest and his parishioners have been nicely described by Constant Zarian as follows:

> At festivals [the village priest] sat at the head of the table, pronounced "Our Father," then closing his eyes he would gulp down the raki [whiskey] and join in the gay conversation. After Sunday Mass he would give the sermon, always chewing the words, mixing together the modern and classical Armenian language and whether in place or out of place, he never failed to mention "Vardan the Brave" from Armenian history.
>
> Clad in their new choukhas [short woolen jackets], the peasants would silently listen to the liturgy and the sermon. The smell of incense and sacrificial sheep filled the church. The Sexton, Lame Simon, would pass the plate in the aisles and collect the jingling kopeks.
>
> It was good.[96]

The Armenians clung to their church, despite numerous efforts to convert them to other faiths. A person who left the Armenian Church was no longer considered a "real" Armenian by the Armenian community. Ormanian reported in 1912 that in the Caucasus there were 1,190,000 Armenian Orthodox Christians

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[95] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 231.

[96] C. Zarian, "The Priest of the Village of Bakontz," Armenian Review, II, No. 3 (1949), p. 31.

only 28,000 Armenian Catholics, and only 5,000 Armenian Protestants.[97] The achievements of missionaries were insignificant because the Armenian Church was more than a religious institution: it was a national church, a symbol of Armenian unity and aspirations, an institution deeply rooted in Armenian society and an integral part of Armenian culture.

The Schools

During the period of Tsarist rule there were three types of schools in Armenia: the parochial schools of the Armenian Church, Russian government schools, and private schools. Of these, the parochial schools were the most important and numerous.

The Armenian parochial school system dated from the early fifth century. Its administration under Russian rule was regulated by the Polozhenie of 1836, which provided (1) that Armenian parochial schools should be under the supervision of the bishop of the diocese in which they were located; (2) that their rules and curricula be submitted to the Synod at Echmiadzin, which in turn must submit them to the Minister of the Interior of the Empire for confirmation; (3) that theological seminaries in diocese centers and at

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[97] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 242.

Echmiadzin be under the jurisdiction of the Catholikos; (4) that in addition to other subjects, the curricula of the seminaries must include Russian language, history and geography.[98]

Armenian was the language of instruction in parochial schools. Their curriculum included Armenian language, literature and history and the teachings of the Armenian Church. Lynch testified in 1901 that few Armenian teachers and still fewer pupils had acquired even moderate proficiency in the speaking and writing of Russian.[99] Armenian girls and boys were educated in separate schools, although it is probable that in poor villages no separate schools were established for girls. The laymen of the parish provided the material support for the parish school and also exerted influence in the establishment of rules and curriculum and the hiring and firing of teachers.[100]

Armenian boys received secondary and higher education in the Church seminaries. Seminaries were established in diocese centers, such as Erivan. After visiting the Erivan

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[98]Lynch, op. cit., I, 218 and Sarafian, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

[99]Lynch, op. cit., I, 219.

[100]S. P. Zelinskii, "Gorod Erivan," [The Town of Erivan]; Sbornik materialy dlя opisaniя plemen i mestnostei Kavkaza [Collection of Material for a Description of the Tribes and Localities of the Caucasus] Vyp. I, Ot. 1 (1881), pp. 45-46.

seminary Lynch reported in 1901 that the majority of its 360 students were in the elementary grades, that the ages of the pupils ranged from ten to twenty years, and that five-sixths of the pupils received their education free of charge. He said that the majority of the pupils did not intend to enter the clergy. The school was supported by rich Armenians, although it was not attended by the sons of the richest Armenians. All subjects, except Russian language and literature, were taught in Armenian. Lynch felt that there was no clerical bias in the curriculum: mathematics, physics, logic, and psychology were included.[101]

At Echmiadzin there was a seminary, providing secondary education, and an academy for higher education as well. The seminary was founded in the seventeenth century and reorganized in 1836; the academy was founded in 1873 or 1874. In 1901 the combined student body numbered about 175 pupils, who entered the seminary at the age of thirteen or fourteen and the academy at nineteen or twenty. According to the understanding with the government, the students were supposed to be candidates for the priesthood; but Lynch in 1901 reported that in the last ten years only fifteen had taken orders. Most graduates became parochial school teachers or transferred to universities in Russia or Europe. The

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[101]Lynch, op. cit., I, 220-221.

curriculum, which had to be approved by the Russian Government, included no natural science.[102]

The total number of Armenian students in the Armenian parochial schools in the Caucasus in 1893 was 28,121, of which 29% were girls.[103] Besides the parochial schools, there were Russian government and private schools in Russian Armenia. Russian was the language of instruction, and there was no co-education in these schools. Of all Armenian students in the Caucasus in 1893, only 43% were in government and private schools.[104]

National Festivals and Entertainment

The Armenian Church and parochial schools were the basic institutions upon which Armenian national solidarity was built; and this solidarity was symbolized, celebrated and strengthened in the Armenian national festivals. Besides the more important festivals of the Church (Christmas and Easter), the Armenians had a number of other celebrations, some inherited from pagan times and dressed in Christian clothing, and others relating to important events in Armenian

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[102] Ibid., pp. 272-274 and Zelinskii, loc. cit., p. 50.

[103] Bratskaîa pomoshch' postradavshim v Turtsii armîanam [Fraternal Aid to the Armenians Suffering in Turkey]. (2nd ed., Moscow, 1897), pp. 674-675.

[104] Ibid.

history. There was no conflict between the festivals celebrated within the Church and the festivals celebrated outside of it, for the latter were sanctioned by the Church and were in many cases directed and carried out by church officials.[105]

Christmas, New Year's Day, and Easter were celebrated with special church services, feasting, and the entertainment of friends and relatives. An unusual ceremony took place on Maundy Thursday, three days before Easter, in which the bishop would put on his brocaded robes and during the evening service wash the feet of the priest, the choristers, and the boys of the community, in imitation of Christ washing the feet of his disciples.[106] The most important church festival of all occurred only about once or twice in a generation: this was the consecration of a new Supreme Catholikos at Echmiadzin. There were many guest chambers at the Echmiadzin monastery for the pilgrims who came from all over the world to attend the celebration.[107]

There were also six important national festivals which were celebrated outside of the Church. The pagan

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[105]Boettiger, op. cit., p. 66.

[106]Ibid., p. 72.

[107]Ibid., p. 75.

festival in February in honor of Mihr, the fire god, was celebrated by the Church as a commemoration of the bringing of Jesus as a baby to the temple, where Mary sacrificed two doves according to the custom of purification. There was a special church service, before or after which a fire was lighted in the churchyard. The young men who have been married during the year fed the fire with aromatic shrubs; all the villagers danced about the fire, and the young men and boys showed their agility and courage by leaping over it.[108]

On Ascension Day, in late spring, the girls of the village would put tokens into a bowl, which would be left out under the stars all night; on the next day the tokens would be drawn out one by one and with each drawing a girl would sing a special charm song, which was the "fortune" of the girl whose token had been drawn.[109]

The festival of Vartavar (Flaming of the Rose) was originally celebrated in honor of Anahit, the pagan goddess of chastity. In Christian times this festival, which was supposed to commemorate the Universal Baptism of the Flood or the Baptism of Jesus, was celebrated by a church service

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[108] Ibid., p. 57.

[109] Ibid., p. 72.

in the open air in midsummer, after which the priest sprinkled the people with water, and the people then sprinkled each other. Then there was much feasting, laughing and merrymaking while the children gathered roses.[110]

The Day of Assumption (or Immaculate Conception), which took place in August, was celebrated by the blessing of the grapes, which were placed before the altar of the church. Then the people indulged in an orgy of grape eating at home or in picnics in the vineyards. Every woman named Mary, or with a possible attribute of the Virgin Mary, kept open house and was visited by her friends.[111]

On the Day of the Dead, which was the first day after Easter, Armenian families went to cemeteries in large numbers to visit the graves of dead relatives. Priests said special prayers of the graves and sometimes picnics were held in the cemetery.[112]

St. Vardan's Day in February was a national celebration of the Battle of Avarair (451 A.D.), in which Vardan Mamigonian led the Armenian nation to a "moral victory" over the Persians. This day was commemorated in church, and there were special celebrations in which school children would sing, recite and wreath Vardan's picture with red flowers, believed to have sprung from the blood of the Christian army.[113]

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[110] Ibid., p. 56. [111] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[112] Ibid., p. 58. [113] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

Besides these festivals, the songs and stories of the Armenian minstrels, or ashugs, also helped to build Armenian national solidarity. In the festivals, the Armenians celebrated events of all-national significance; from the tales and songs of the ashugs, they became acquainted as small children with the history and heroes of the Armenian people. Of course, much of the history and many of the heroes were legendary, but that made no difference in the work of building solidarity and instilling Armenian cultural values. The ashugs performed either in private homes or at weddings and other celebrations. Storytelling was also done by elders around the family hearth. The story was like a handicraft product: each telling was different from the other, and each was tailored to the disposition of the audience. Younger sons might be consoled by the triumphs of younger sons in Armenian folk tales; and the virtuous were usually rewarded. However, many tales contained a great deal of moral ambivalence: some figures in the folk tales exhibited hostile, rebellious, antisocial behavior which was not always punished. Yet the very moral ambivalence in the stories helped the children to integrate forbidden impulses by recognizing them as part of "human nature."[114]

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[114]These conclusions were reached by applying the analysis of David Riesman in The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, 1950), pp. 85-89, to a number of Armenian folk tales and legends in A. G. Seklemian, The Golden Maiden and Other Folk Tales and Fairy Stories Told in Armenia (New York and Cleveland, 1898) and I. Khachatrianz, Armenian Folk Tales (Philadelphia, 1946).

Values

The institutions of traditional Armenian culture served to instill in Armenian children the basic values of Armenian culture. To the knowledge of the author no scientific study of Armenian values has been made; it was therefore necessary to infer their nature and significance from Armenian proverbs, Armenian literature, and from general studies of Armenian culture.

In the traditional cosmology of the Armenians, as reflected in the writings of ancient and medieval Armenian authors, the earth stood firm and was practically the whole world. There was also an invisible world, thickly populated with occult powers.[115] The stars were sacred bodies. For every person on earth there was a star in heaven; when a man died, a star fell and when a man was born, a star was born.[116] Human life was predestined either by divine decrees or through occult connections with stars.[117]

The setting sun shone upon the world of the dead. Man was composed of a body and a soul, and death was the separation or extraction of the soul, a subtile material, from the body

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[115]M. Ananikian, "The Mythology of Armenia," Armenian Review, VI, No. 4 (1953), pp. 132-133.

[116]Chursin, op. cit., p. 262.

[117]Ananikian, loc. cit., p. 133.

by way of the mouth.[118] The souls of the righteous were thought to be luminous and the souls of the wicked, to be black. It was believed that blackened souls became brighter through the good works and prayers of their descendents on earth. Occasionally spirits came back to earth to help their relatives, especially the spirit of a dead father who might come to help his living son.[119]

The groups to which an Armenian owed loyalty were relatively few. First of all, he owed loyalty to his family (that is, the extended kin group of the patriarchal family). In some cases the demands of the head of the family might override the wishes of his wife. Of course, "A near neighbor is better than a distant kinsman," according to an Armenian proverb.[120] The Armenian also owed loyalty to his village: he had to protect its interests against harm from outsiders. Further, the Armenian owed loyalty to the Armenian Church, the representative of God on earth. During the Turkish massacres many Armenians who were given the opportunity to save their lives by becoming Moslems refused to do so. Finally, the Armenian owed loyalty to the Armenian people.

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Boettiger, op. cit., p. 60.

[120] Armenian Literature, p. 6.

He was expected to marry a member of his own people, and almost always did so. He was expected to maintain the honor of his nation: there is an Armenian proverb: "Behave well before strangers so that your nation may not be discredited."[121] It will be seen, however, that Armenian ethnic loyalty was not the same as Armenian nationalism. The latter arose in the period when traditional Armenian cultural patterns were beginning to be dissolved and transformed.

Many of the most important values of Armenian culture were associated with family life. Respect for elders was instilled into children from an early age; grown sons remained standing in the presence of the patriarch unless he bade them sit down. Fertility was greatly esteemed. A symbol of fertility was the ox (bull or cow). The skull of an ox was sometimes hung from the ceiling of the house or tied to the fence in the garden.[122] In the above description of family life, the pre-eminence of the male as a value was indicated by a number of examples. The great importance of sexual chastity, especially among women, was also brought out. A

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[121] Tchobanian, op. cit., p. 73.

[122] G. Samuelian, "Totemism Among the Armenians," Armenian Review, II, No. 4 (1949), p. 58.

happy family life was considered extremely important:

> At night, after work, Father was always gay. When he took his aperitif in the living room, he would shout, "I am a lord, lord!"...."Here is my woman, here are my children--what else can a man want?" he would say.[123]

An ideal figure in traditional Armenian culture was a patriarch like the grandfather of Khachatour Abovian:

> "All the blessings," he would say, "that God can bestow on sinful man, are granted me--children, wealth, and the love of all my fellow-men; and I have in gratitude devoted this garden to Him, and given it to the poor, that all may derive from it benefit and pleasure."[124]

Among other values commonly held by Armenians was an inclination to stay at home. Haxthausen observed that Armenian merchants of Erivan seldom left home and scarcely ever visted beyond Tiflis, Tabriz, and Erzerum. He said that the peasants never left their homes except to go on a pilgrimage; that it was unusual for the father of a household to be absent from home for even a few days; and that it was not customary for young people to remain out of the village over night.[125]

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[123] Surmelian, op. cit., p. 39.

[124] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 239.

[125] Ibid., p. 332.

Respect for learning was commonly observed among Armenians. There is an Armenian proverb, "Only he who can read is a man."[126] Zelinskii reported in 1881 that the Armenians cared for their schools and tried in every way to open new schools. He said that most Armenian villages of significance had a school supported by tuition fees and church income.[127] It was believed, however, that education has its limitations: "The wolf with an education becomes no lamb," according to the Armenian proverb. Other Armenian attitudes toward learning are reflected in the proverbs, "Be learned, but be taken for a fool," and "Wisdom is not in years, but in the head."[128]

Outside the family group, shrewdness and trickery were considered desirable traits. Dolens reported that Armenians were evasive, avoided making promises, and communicated a great deal by sous-entendus.[129] After being a subject people for centuries, the Armenians found that

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[126] Armenian Literature, p. 3.

[127] Zelinskii, loc. cit., p. 43.

[128] Bayan, op. cit., pp. 34, 64, and 65.

[129] Dolens, loc. cit., p. 519.

frankness was dangerous: "He who speaks the truth must have one foot in the stirrup," a proverb goes. In some cases acumen might be valued above honesty: "A devil with experience is better than an angel without," according to another proverb. Great caution was considered necessary in dealing with strangers: "You never know a man until you have eaten a barrel of salt with him."[130]

According to Darayan, manual work was considered by Armenians as lowly and an evil only to be endured.[131] For most Armenians, however, work was necessary for survival. "If everyone poses as a lord, who shall turn our mill?" the Armenian proverb goes.[132] The lazy man was not held in esteem; and when opportunity to improve one's position by hard work presented itself, the Armenian responded with determination.

Within the village there was probably a large amount of economic equalitarianism. This was seen in the system of allocating land described above. There was also a large amount of social equalitarianism. Another Armenian proverb

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[130]That is, until you have eaten enough meals together that a barrel of salt is used up in their preparation. Armenian Literature, pp. 3, 4, and 6.

[131]La Piere, op. cit., p. 93.

[132]Bayan, op. cit., p. 17.

states that "The noble man does not say, 'My grandfather was from a great family': he shows his nobility by his works."[133]

As for the Armenian attitude toward material goods, Haxthausen reported that Armenians had the tendency in the past to eat sparingly and spent any surplus wealth on luxury articles such as handsome weapons, magnificent clothes, and church ornaments. He observed, however, a trend toward the purchase of more practical articles and the preference for comfort over ostentation.[134]

Armenians loved to talk, according to Hartill. Conversation was the chief bulwark against the monotony of continual work, and the simplest business transaction required elaborate verbal exchanges, which were enjoyed as an end in themselves.[135] Hospitality was also considered an obligation and a virtue: Haxthausen reported that there were usually guests in the house of Abovian's grandfather and that most people who passed met with a friendly welcome and were often given fruit and wine.[136] Generosity was esteemed:

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[133] Tchobanian, op. cit., p. 74.

[134] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 252.

[135] L. R. Hartill, Men Are Like That (Indianapolis, 1928), pp. 222-223.

[136] Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 230.

according to the proverb, "He who asks is shameful; but he who refuses is doubly so."[137]

It may be concluded that the ideal Armenian was loyal to his family, village, church, and ethnic group; respectful of elders; the parent of numerous progeny, including many sons; chaste before, and faithful after, marriage; rooted in his home and community; learned, shrewd, and able to manipulate words well; hospitable, wealthy, and generous.

Political, Socio-Economic, and Cultural Developments, 1881-1917

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there began a relatively rapid transformation of the patterns of traditional Armenian culture. The policies of the Tsarist government, the penetration of capitalism into Transcaucasia, the spread of Western education, and the effects of World War I were factors which influenced this transformation. In the following section the principal political, socio-economic, and cultural developments in Armenia from about 1881 to 1917 will be considered.

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[137]Bayan, op. cit., p. 53.

Political Developments

After the death of Alexander II in 1881 the policy of the Tsarist government became increasingly hostile toward the Armenians. During the massacres of Armenians in Turkey in 1894-1896, the Russian government, sympathizing with the Sultan as a monarch threatened by revolutionaries, did not intercede with him on behalf of the Armenians. It looked upon Armenian nationalist political parties with intense distrust.[138]

The government was hostile to the Armenian Church in this period because the Church was both an obstacle to the conversion of the Armenians to Russian Orthodoxy and a rallying point for Armenian "separatism." Serious efforts to convert Armenians to the Russian faith began in about the 1880's. Land-hungry Armenians in Erivan gubernia were offered lands immediately if they embraced Russian Orthodoxy; Orthodox priests visited Armenians in prison and told them they would not be sent to Siberia if they joined the Russian Church.[139]

The government began to repress the Armenian parochial schools. In 1874, it required that the Russian language be taught in all Armenian parochial schools and that Russian history and geography be taught, in Russian, in all

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[138] H. Seton-Watson, The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914 (London, 1952), p. 162.

[139] Aknouni, Les plaies du Caucase (Geneva, 1905), pp. 69 and 76.

schools where general history and geography were included in the curriculum.[140] More severe restrictions were imposed in the Ukase of 1884: all but the first two grades were ordered eliminated in Armenian parochial schools. Those schools with more than two grades were placed on the same basis as private schools in Russia, that is, the whole of instruction had to be given in Russian. Seminaries were allowed to continue, but were restricted to the preparation of the clergy.

The Synod at Echmiadzin refused to accept the Ukase of 1884. Since there was no Catholikos in the Chair at the time, the Synod urged that the decree be considered only after the election of a new Catholikos. The Government retaliated by closing all the Armenian parochial schools.[141] Two candidates for the position of Catholikos were submitted to the Tsar in 1885. The Tsar appointed the candidate who received the second largest number of votes, Bishop Markar, instead of the candidate with the majority, an act contrary to all precedent. The new Catholikos accepted the Ukase of 1884 with some small changes in the permitted curriculum.[142]

In about 1893 the Government ordered that every teacher in a parochial school must obtain a certificate from the Ministry of Education; to obtain this certificate

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[140]Sarafian, op. cit., p. 263.

[141]Lynch, op. cit., I, 219-220.

[142]Ibid., pp. 220 and 235 and Aknouni, op. cit., p. 35.

it was necessary to pass an examination conducted in the Russian language. As a great many teachers failed to pass this examination, the parochial schools were further crippled.[143] In June, 1897, a decree was issued ordering that the Armenian parochial schools be turned over to the administration of the Ministry of Education. As a result of the opposition of the clergy to this decree, the majority of parochial schools were again closed. The Armenians refused to meet the conditions for re-opening, which were: (1) that parochial teachers be appointed by the Government; (2) that all teaching be in Russian except lessons in religion and the Armenian language; (3) that government inspectors be appointed with the power to appoint non-Armenian teachers and admit non-Armenian children in the parochial schools.[144]

The Government struck its cruelest blow at the Armenian Church in June, 1903, when it ordered the confiscation of all the property of the Armenian Church. The Church retained ownership of the property, but its administration was turned over to the Ministries of Agriculture and of Interior.[145] The Decree of 1903 met with violent

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[143] Lynch, op. cit., I, 220.

[144] Aknouni, op. cit., pp. 39-59.

[145] J. M. Hagopian, "Hyphenated Nationalism," (Doctor's dissertation, Harvard University, 1942), p. 289.

resistance among the Armenians. There were mass demonstrations and even armed conflicts with government authorities. A "Central Committee for Armenian Self-Defense" was organized in Tiflis. Several government officials were assassinated on the orders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (which will be discussed below).[146]

In retaliation, the Government incited Tartars to massacre Armenians in Baku and elsewhere in Transcaucasia in February, 1905. But as the tide of the Russo-Japanese war turned against the Russians, a more conciliatory policy was adopted. The unpopular Viceroy of the Caucasus, Galitzin, was replaced in the summer of 1905 by Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, a Russian nobleman who was sympathetic to the Armenians. Soon thereafter an Imperial Ukase restored all confiscated properties to the Armenian Church and sanctioned the reopening of Armenian schools.[147]

Discrimination against Armenians appeared in every phase of public life during this period. After a visit to Russian Armenia in 1893-1894 Lynch reported that Armenians there were "without rival" in the government service;[148] but when Galitzin was appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus in

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[146] Ibid., p. 286 ff.

[147] L. Arpee, A History of Armenian Christianity (New York, 1946), p. 298.

[148] Lynch, op. cit., I, 467.

1896, no more Armenians were accepted in the civil service, and those already in it were no longer permitted to serve in districts inhabited by Armenians.[149] By 1897, not a single Armenian was governor or lieutenant-governor of any gubernia in the Caucasus; only two of the fifty-one uezd nachalniks (heads) were Armenians; and of the 289 clerks in the Transcaucasian administration, only thirty-one were Armenians.[150] Armenian civil servants found it expedient to drop the Armenian endings from their names; to send their children to government schools instead of Armenian parochial schools; and to pretend not to know the Armenian language.[151]

The government dissolved all of the Armenian Welfare Societies in 1899-1900. These societies, founded since 1880, were devoted to supporting hospitals, schools, libraries, publishing books, and giving relief to the poor. Galitzin suspected them of being centers for separatist agitation. Three of the societies were allowed to reopen under new regulations, but they were no longer allowed to have provincial sections, to subsidize schools, open libraries, or publish books.[152]

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[149]Aknouni, op. cit., p. 22.

[150]Bratskaia pomoshch' postradavshim v Turtsii armianam, pp. 675-679.

[151]Aknouni, op. cit., p. 166.

[152]Ibid., pp. 81-99, passim.

Court proceedings in Transcaucasia were conducted in Russian, and judicial officials often were unfamiliar with Armenian customary law.[153] People visiting prisoners in jail had to speak to them in Russian. All publications had to pass a government censor. Government officials had to be addressed in Russian. It was forbidden to name a street for an Armenian patriot, or a library for an indigenous celebrity. The Armenian language was not taught in the government schools of the Caucasus.[154] Armenians were admitted to Russian universities on a quota basis,[155] and the opening of a university or polytechnic school in the Caucasus was not permitted.[156]

The Government's attitude toward Armenians in Russian Armenia after 1881 was well described by Lynch:

> The Russians...would be content to see the Armenians conduct the commerce of their native country and develop its vast resources...but only on one condition were they prepared to encourage such activity: that their subjects should become Russians, and that the province should be joined to the Russian Empire not only by the slender thread of annexation but by the abiding tie of common patriotism founded on a community of sentiment with themselves...[157]

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[153] Borian, op. cit., I, 344.

[154] Aknouni, op. cit., pp. 164-168.

[155] M. Elliot, Beginning Again at Ararat (New York, 1924), p. 332.

[156] A. Khatissian, "The Memoirs of a Mayor," Armenian Review, III, No. 1 (1950), p. 99.

[157] Lynch, op. cit., I, 459.

Tsarist policies in Armenia were partly a reaction to the development of Armenian nationalism. Armenian nationalism developed in the nineteenth century in response to the impact of Western European culture. Armenian students would go abroad to study and return to Transcaucasia imbued with Romantic Nationalism, Populism, and Socialism and convinced that science and Western education could usher in a new millenium. The new kind of Armenian intellectual was no longer a dignified scholar of the classical Armenian language and Biblical literature: he was secular-minded, rebellious, and somewhat fanatic.

The new intellectual was a nationalist, and as a nationalist he drew support from middle class Armenians in Transcaucasia and the Armenian colonies abroad. The appearance of wealthy middle class Armenians in Transcaucasia toward the end of the nineteenth century coincided with the rise of the Armenian nationalist movement. The penetration of capitalism into Transcaucasia meant that many Armenians now ran the risks of economic competition in a market economy. For such Armenians, security and success could be aided by ethnic cooperation: in the struggle for jobs, the making of good business deals, the arranging of advantageous marriages and the obtaining of government favor, Armenians helped Armenians.[158]

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[158]K. W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge-New York, 1953), pp. 76-77.

Curiously enough, the Armenian nationalist movement had a socialist coloring. This cannot be explained merely by the fact that socialist ideas were "in the air" of Western Europe and Russia. Up to 1917 in Transcaucasia there was no large, indigenous, geographically concentrated Armenian middle class which might have become the backbone of a strictly constitutional-liberal movement. Right-wing parties within the Russian Empire opposed nationalist movements in the borderlands. Left-wing parties, however, preached self-determination of nationalities.[159]

Because of the repressive policies of the Tsarist government toward the Armenians, most Armenian nationalists were anti-Tsarist; however, they remained pro-Russian. This can only be understood in the light of the infinitely worse persecution of Armenians by the Turkish government, and also economic considerations. The older, more prosperous members of the Armenian middle class did not seek territorial autonomy for the Armenians, for this would disrupt commerce in Transcaucasia; further, they continued to hope that the Russian government would liberate Armenians under Turkish rule. Both in Transcaucasia and in Eastern Anatolia the Armenians did not form a concentrated group in a compact area; the Armenians constituted a majority of the population only in scattered districts interspersed among Turk and Tartar districts.[160] For this reason an independent Armenia

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[159]R. E. Pipes, The Formation of the Soviet Union (Cambridge, 1954), p. 20.

[160]Borian, op. cit., I, 411 and Seton Watson, op. cit., p. 239.

would be in danger of subversion from within by non-Armenian elements; and without Russian protection, it would also risk attack from Turkey. In view of these considerations the pro-Russian, non-separatist attitude of many Armenian nationalists was understandable.

The first Armenian political organizations were not formed in Armenia, but took root in circles of Armenian students and intellectuals in the cities of Russia and Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century. Armenian students formed the "Society of Patriots" in Moscow in 1881.[161]

In 1883 it was reported to the Tsarist government that there were student Armenian circles in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kharkov which had a "social revolutionary program, aiming at the establishment of a federal government in Russia." In Erivan there were also revolutionary organizations, which operated under the guise of charitable societies and which were linked with the Odessa organization of the Russian Narodnaia Volia (People's Will) society.[162]

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[161]"Armianskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Sovetskaia Respublika" [Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic], Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[162]The latter was a secret organization of agrarian socialists (Narodniks) which attempted to overthrow Tsarism by stirring up peasant revolts and by assassinating their political enemies. Since Armenian society was predominately agrarian and pre-capitalist, this group had an attraction for the politically-conscious Armenian intellectuals of the time. D. E. Gabrielian, "Revoliutsiia 1905-07 gg. v Armenii," [The Revolution of 1905-07 in Armenia], Revoliutsiia 1905-07 godov v natsional'nykh raionakh Rossii [The Revolution of 1905-07 in the National Regions of Russia], ed. by A. M. Pankratova and A. L. Sidorov (Moscow, 1949), pp. 443-444.

The first Armenian political party founded by and for Armenians was established in Geneva by seven Armenian students in August, 1887.[163] These students were in contact with George Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich, who had founded the first Russian Marxist organization (Emancipation of Labor) in Geneva in 1883.[164] Led by Avetis Nazarbekian and his fiancée, Maro Vardanian, the students drew up a plan for a political party. The final goal of the organization, later known as the Armenian Social-Democratic Hunchakian Party, was the establishment of a socialist order; but its immediate goal was to obtain Armenian national independence through revolutionary activity in Turkey.[165] After the 1905 Revolution the membership of the party in Russia dwindled. Some Hunchaks joined Marxist groups, while others joined the Dashnaktsutiun.[166]

The most influential Armenian party in Transcaucasia was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Dashnaktsutiun. It was formed during 1890 when several secret revolutionary groups in the Caucasus were amalgamated. These groups were composed mainly of students and school teachers. The

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[163] L. Z. Nalbandian, "The Origins and Development of Socialism in Armenia: the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, 1887-1949" (Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1949), pp. 12-16.

[164] Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîûza, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) (Moscow, 1952), p. 23.

[165] Nalbandian, op. cit., pp. 12-16.

[166] Ibid., pp. 19-47, passim.

Dashnaks, like the Hunchaks, sought the liberation of Turkish Armenia. Some Dashnaks were socialists; others were liberals, who desired political and economic freedom for all peoples, including the Armenians, within the Russian and Ottoman Empires; still others were nationalists, who sought either some measure of autonomy for Armenians in Turkey and Russia or the unification and independence of Armenia. The Dashnaktsutiun was a secret organization, and its tactics included acts of terrorism.[167]

The role of the Dashnaktsutiun in Russian Armenia was that of a bourgeois-nationalist, not a socialist party. Dashnak ideology was a synthesis of the ideas of two groups; the first, led by Krikor Ardzruni, championed Western enlightenment and urged the establishment of civil and political liberty for the whole population of the Russian Empire; the second, led by such men as Abkar Ohannessian, clung to the clerical conception of the Armenian nation, urging that the Armenian poeple gather around the Armenian Church for leadership and that wide autonomy be established for all parts of Armenia. These two groups were both nationalist, but their conceptions of nationalism differed. The first welcomed the transformation of Armenian culture; the second sought to conserve Armenian tradition. Dashnak ideology contained these two conflicting concepts of nationalism, plus the latest socialist tendencies.[168]

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[167]K. S. Papazian, Patriotism Perverted (Boston, 1934), pp. 9 and 25.

[168]L. Martov et. al., eds., Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale 20-go veka, (St. Petersburg, 1914), III,305.

The Dashnaktsutiun talked about Socialism because this attracted a larger following of Armenians to the struggle of national liberation. The particular understanding of Socialism by Armenian intellectuals was in the spirit of Russian narodnichestvo (Agrarian Socialism), and the agrarian question was of prime importance in Armenia. This kind of Socialism amalgamated both traditionalism and revolutionary innovation.

Several points from the platform of the Dashnaktsutiun adopted at its first general convention in 1892 serve as examples of Dashnak Socialism:

> 5. Distribution of land to the landless; to ensure to the cultivator the benefits of the soil.
> 6. Assessment of taxes on the communal principal--according to the ability of each to pay, as has been practised by the Armenians for centuries....
> 11. To promote the communal principle among the artisans, by giving impetus to those social institutions which have sprung up under the local and historical influence of the Armenian soil. To broaden the scope of these institutions, beginning with the ward and the village, as far as the province, and then the whole of the government, thus safeguarding the safety of each member of the community against the casual and current adversities of life.[169] (Italics mine)

The activity of the Dashnaktsutiun was not of a socialist character, however. Most Dashnak energies were spent in arming and organizing military leadership for the Armenians. Only the aim of liberating the Armenians of Turkey and redressing the grievances of Armenians, as Armenians, in Russia could unite the heterogenous membership of the Dashnaktsutiun. Furthermore, capitalism in

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[169] S. Vratsian, "The Armenian Revolution and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation." Armenian Review, III, No. 3 (1950), pp. 18-19.

Transcaucasia was still weakly developed and there was practically no industrial proletariat in Russian Armenia proper to support a Marxist movement. The discontent of the Armenian peasants against "feudal" conditions of land tenure took a nationalist coloring, for in most cases the large landowners in Armenia were Tartars. This nationalist coloring was also heightened by the fact that the Tsarist government had given some of the richest land in land-poor Armenia to Russian colonists. Hence, Socialism was hardly more than a variation on nationalist theme of the Dashnaktsutiun.

Up to 1903 most Dashnak activity was carried on in Turkey. The confiscation of the property of the Armenian Church in 1903 changed this situation. Dashnak leadership in the resistance to this decree gave the party a large following. Representatives of the Dashnaktsutiun attended the Congress of Revolutionaries and Socialists in Paris in 1904, which resolved to overthrow the tsarist government and to pursue self-determination for each nationality.[170] The Party's armed bands protected the Armenian population of Transcaucasia from massacres by the Tartars in 1905, and during 1904-1907 the Party arranged the assassination of a number of anti-Armenian government officials in Transcaucasia. From 1903 to 1920 the Dashnaktsutiun, more than any other party, commanded the loyalty of the Armenians in Russia.

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[170] J. M. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 309.

The first Marxist organization in Transcaucasia, the Messameh Dassy, was a study group founded in George in 1893. In 1898 a minority within the Messameh Dassy, led by Josip Djugashvili (later Joseph Stalin) and others, began to adopt a more revolutionary line, urging mass agitation and political struggle against the Tsarist regime. A number of Russian Social Democrats arrived in Tiflis in 1901 and soon thereafter the Tiflis Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (R.S.D.L.P.) was organized.[171]

Beginning in 1902 the Social-Democrats organized groups in Armenia proper: in Erivan, Alexandropol, Kars, Allaverdi, Sarykamysh, Kafan, and Nor-Bayazet.[172] The Tiflis Committee of the Party began to publish a newspaper in the Armenian language called Proletariat; and the appearance of Proletariat in Tiflis was linked with the formation of the Union of Armenian Social Democrats.[173]

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[171] L. Beria, On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations of Transcaucasia (7th ed., Moscow, 1948), pp. 11, 18, and 24-26.

[172] S. T. Arkomed, Rabochee dvizhenie i Sotsial-Demokratiia na Kavkaze s 80-kh gg. po 1903 g. [The Workers' Movement and Social Democracy in the Caucausus from the 1880's to 1903] (2nd ed., Moscow, 1923), p. 447.

[173] "Armianskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Sovetskaia Respublika," Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

This group believed that the self-consciousness of the Armenian proletariat could best be developed by joining the Russian proletariat in a general struggle.[174]

In 1903 the Social-Democratic Party split into two groups: the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks favored a tightly-knit, disciplined party, while the Mensheviks wanted to keep the Party open to wider masses of sympathizers. The Bolsheviks were also distinguished, in the years that followed, by their greater reluctance to act through legal channels and their belief that a successful revolution was not merely spontaneous, but had to be actively organized. The Bolshevik-Menshevik split extended to the Caucasus in 1904-1905, when the two factions formed separate organizations.[175] The Union of Armenian Social Democrats split into two groups: the Mensheviks, led by Arshak Zurabov, A. Erzinkian, and S. Khanoian; and the Bolsheviks, led by S. Shaumian, S. Spandarian, and Ter Petrossian (Kamo).[176]

About this time a third group of Social-Democrats, known as the Specifists, was organized. According to Gabrielian, this group was founded in about 1903 and claimed to be "an autonomous organization of the R.S.D.L.P. and the only representative of the Armenian proletariat."

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[174]Arkomed, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

[175]Beria, op. cit., p. 43.

[176]Khatissian, loc. cit., II, No. 4 (1949), p. 112.

In the struggle between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the Specifists occupied a neutral position. They claimed that their work was necessitated by the "specific" conditions of Armenian activity: that a special agrarian program was necessary for the Caucasus, and for Armenia in particular.[177]

Karinian said that the Specifists were Armenian intellectuals, notably David Ananun (a former Hunchak) and B. Ishkanian.[178] These intellectuals organized trade unions with a total of several thousand members in Baku, Batum, and Alexandropol.[179] Like the Jewish Bund, the Specifist organization adhered to the "Austrian solution" of the national question, i.e., the granting of cultural autonomy to national groups not concentrated in a compact subdivision of territory, by giving "national councils" jurisdiction over education and other cultural matters. Because of their position on the national question the Specifists were not accepted by the Bolsheviks, who held that cultural autonomy would create divisions within the proletariat. The membership of the group gradually dwindled; some of its members joined the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and others, the Dashnaktsutiun.[180]

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[177]Gabrielian, loc. cit., p. 449.

[178]A. Karinian, Shaumian i natsionalisticheskie techeniia na Kavkaze [Shaumian and Nationalist Currents in the Caucasus] (Baku, 1928), p. 18.

[179]Martov, op. cit., p. 216.

[180]Karinian, op. cit., p. 19.

After the Russo-Japanese War broke out (January, 1904) and news of Russian defeats began to reach Transcaucasia, there was a wave of unrest in Armenia. Copper workers in Allaverdi and Kafan, distillery workers in Erivan, and railroad workers in Alexandropol all went on strike at various times during the period 1905-1907. Some peasants around Allaverdi refused to pay rent to their landlords. The Social-Democrats were able to establish strong organizations in the countryside of Zangezur, one of the poorest and most backward districts of Armenia.[181]

The most significant development among Armenians in the period 1905-1907 was the convening of the First Congress of Armenians in Russia. The Congress met in 1906 in Tiflis, with fifty delegates attending. In the resolutions of the Congress no mention was made of cultural autonomy for Armenians, much less secession from the Russian Empire. The Congress demanded equal civil rights for Armenians and Russians and the lightening of government control over Armenian schools. When the First Duma (representative assembly) of the Empire met in 1906 the Armenian delegates presented the resolutions of the Congress.[182] The importance of the Congress lay in the fact that it set the precedent for the Armenian National

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[181]Gabrielian, loc. cit., p. 458.

[182]Khatissian, loc. cit., pp. 108-111.

Assembly of 1917, which in turn was the organizing nucleus of the Armenian Republic of 1918-1920.

It was fortunate for the Armenians that Vorontsov-Dashkov was the viceroy of the Caucasus between 1905 and 1915. Vorontsov-Dashkov considered the Armenians a stable, loyal element in the Empire. He regarded the Armenian national movement as a useful weapon against Turkey, with whom, he assumed, conflict was inevitable.[183] But the Viceroy could not prevent the mass arrest of Armenian nationalist leaders in 1908. For three years, 1909-1911, several hundred were in Russian prisons. Of those arrested in 1908, a total of 146 were brought to trial in early 1912, and of these, forty-six were convicted.[184]

Bolshevik activities were also restricted in the period 1908-1914. An effective system of police informers made party work difficult. Baku was the chief center of Bolshevik activity; but in 1911 almost all the Bolshevik leaders there were arrested and the party organizations were smashed.[185] In Armenia proper there were probably no more than a few Bolsheviks by 1914.

When World War I broke out in July, 1914, about 250,000 Armenians entered the Russian Army. In Tiflis there was organized an Armenian National Bureau, which

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[183]Seton-Watson, op. cit., p. 306.

[184]Pasdermadjian, op. cit., pp. 436-437.

[185]Karinian, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

helped recruit Armenians for the army and gave aid to Turkish Armenian refugees.[186] In February, 1915, an All-Armenian National Congress was held in Tiflis. The Congress declared itself in favor of the Allied side, and it was revealed that the Russian Government had given the Dashnaktsutiun over 200,000 rubles to provoke an armed uprising of Turkish Armenians at an appropriate moment.[187]

Armenians constituted the majority of the officers of the Caucasian Cities Union, formed in 1914 for the purpose of establishing and maintaining hospitals and caring for refugees. An Armenian volunteer division was organized to fight on the Caucasian front. In 1916 most of its units were absorbed into regular Russian army units, but a nucleus remained to become the core of the army of the Armenian Republic (1918-1920).[188]

World War I brought great economic hardship to Russian Armenia. Due to the lack of labor, work animals, and equipment the sown area was curtailed by 25%. Food could not be imported from Russia because of the lack of transport. The areas occupied by the Turks during 1917-1918 were almost completely devastated. About 300,000 Turkish Armenian refugees poured into Russian Armenia.[189]

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[186]S. Vratzian, Armenia and the Armenian Question (Boston, 1943), p. 32.

[187]F. Kazemzadeh, The Struggle For Transcaucasia (New York, 1951), p. 26.

[188]Khatissian, loc. cit., III, No. 2 (1950), pp. 84-86 and 90.

[189]Tumanian, op. cit., pp. 2-5.

The effects of World War I were a great stimulus to Armenian nationalism. About one million Armenians were massacred in the Ottoman Empire because they were Armenians, and several hundred thousand arrived in Russian Armenia in search of security and a leadership around which they could rally. With the disintegration of the Russian Army on the Caucasian front in 1917, the only possible leadership available was that of the Dashnaktsutiun, which dominated the Armenian National Council. All other parties, including the Bolshevik Party, were small, relatively unorganized, and inexperienced. Thus, during World War I the Turkish threat to the national existence of the Armenian people stimulated Armenian nationalism to its highest pitch of intensity and gave the Dashnaktsutiun its great opportunity.

Socio-Economic Developments

During the period 1881-1917 the economy of Transcaucasia began to take on a capitalist character. By 1900 capitalist commerce had become the predominant form of exchange.[190] Railroads were built between Tiflis and Erivan and between Tiflis and Baku. A great oil industry developed in Baku, and in Armenia proper the mining of copper began on a large-scale commercial basis. The importation of industrial goods began to displace the

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[190]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 77.

handicraft industries in Armenia. The acreage of commercial crops, such as cotton was expanded. Finally, the growth of population led to overcrowding on the land, the impoverishment of the peasantry, and an increase in the urban population.[191]

Over 90% of the people of Russian Armenia lived in villages in 1897.[192] Most of these people were engaged in agriculture. Agriculture productivity per person was low, being only 37% that of Russia and only 16% that of the United States for the period 1903-1913.[193] Agricultural technique was primitive: ploughing was done with a wooden plough drawn by several teams of oxen; there was no manuring, since animal dung had to be used for fuel; the cultivation of leguminous crops was virtually unknown; and, with the growth of population, practically no crop rotation was practised.[194]

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[191] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[192] That is, in the area of what is now Soviet Armenia. Only the inhabitants of Erivan and Leninakan were considered urban. The next largest settlement, Nor Bayazet (8,486), was considered rural. See Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentralnoe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaia Armeniia v tsifrakh, 1923-1927 [Soviet Armenia in Figures, 1923-1927] p. 15, and Z. Gorgordian, Khorhrtayin Hayasdani pnagchoutyoune verchin haryouramiagoum (1831-1931) [The Population of Soviet Armenia in the Last Hundred Years, 1831-1931] (Erivan, 1932), pp. 164-165.

[193] O. E. Tumanian, op. cit., p. 263.

[194] Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

About three-fourths of the cultivated land in Armenia was devoted to cereal culture. Cereals were exported until the end of the nineteenth century, when the growth of the population made it necessary to start importing grain from Russia. On the eve of World War I Armenia was importing two million poods of grain a year.[195] In addition, the productivity of the land was gradually decreasing because of the exhaustion of the soil.

The Arax Plain was a great center of viniculture; about one-fifth of the land here was devoted to it. With the establishment of distilleries in Erivan toward the end of the nineteenth century a large part of the grape harvest was used to make wine, brandy and cognac; and when the Tiflis-Erivan railroad was finished in 1902 fresh grapes began to be exported to Russia.[196]

Commercial cotton growing got started in Armenia during the American Civil War, when the price of cotton in world markets rose. After railroads to Armenia were built, Armenian cotton was sent to supply the Russian textile industry. Before World War I about four-fifths of the cotton produced in Armenia went to Russia and cotton accounted for about 10% of the value of Armenia's total gross agricultural production.[197]

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[195] Ibid., p. 16.

[196] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[197] Ibid., pp. 15, 26, 27.

At the turn of the century most peasants in Russian Armenia worked small holdings on government lands. Only about one-fourth were still on mulkadar and tiul holdings in 1912. The average holding of a peasant household in 1886 was between four and five desiatiny;[198] in comparison, the average holding per person in the Russian Empire was three desiatiny in 1900.[199] As the population grew, more and more peasants were forced to rent land, usually on a short-term basis. In such circumstances the soil was cruelly exploited.[200] To make things worse, the Russian government allotted some of the best lands in Armenia to Russian colonists.[201]

During the late nineteenth century local peasant disturbances became more frequent. The land-poor peasantry especially resented the fact that one-sixth of the land on

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[198]Esaian, op. cit., p. 149.

[199]A. G. Mazour, Russia, Past and Present (New York, 1951), p. 165.

[200]Esaian, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

[201]Borian, op. cit., I, 339.

former mulkadar estates was reserved for the personal use of the landowners. There were many instances in which the peasants refused to pay dues to the landowners.[202]

The stratification of the Peasantry into rich and poor elements also began to develop toward the end of the nineteenth century. According to the Decree of 1870, when a member of a commune fell behind in paying his dues to the landlord, the commune was to hand the land over to another peasant in the hope that the obligations attached would be fulfilled; this created the opportunity for the richer peasants to accumulate more land.[203] In a number of communes redivision of land ceased, and the rich peasants passed their lands on to their heirs.[204] In the Arax Valley some peasants with rich vinyards were able to hire extra hands and establish little wine factories on their holdings; some peasants, with good land and dairy herds, produced dairy products for the export market.[205]

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[202]V. Rshtuni, Krestianskoe dvizhenie v Armenii v XIX veke [The Peasant Movement in Armenia in the Nineteenth Century] (Erivan, 1948), p. 12.

[203]Esaian, op. cit., p. 95.

[204]A. Lalaian, "Proekt Stalinskoi Konstitutsii SSSR i rastsvet Sovetskoi Armenii," [The Project of the Stalinist Constitution in the USSR and the Blooming of Armenia] Revolîutsionnyi Vostok, No. 4 (1936), p. 41, and Esaian, op. cit., p. 119.

[205]Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, p. 72.

Other peasants grew poorer: between 20-40% of the peasant households of Armenia had no cattle in 1894,[206] and about 20-30% in Erivan gubernia had no land.[207] The Armenian peasantry in 1897 has been classified as follows: kulaki (rich peasants employing hired labor), 5%; farmhands and poor peasants, 70%; middle peasants, 25%.[208]

No land reform affecting peasants on crown lands was instituted until 1900. At this time a poll tax was substituted for the tax on households. Ploughlands assigned to communes could not be alienated, however, and the holdings of separate households within a commune could be alienated only to persons in the same commune.[209]

Dependent relationships in the countryside of Armenia were not abolished until the end of 1912. A new land reform law provided that all peasants on tiul, mulkadar, and crown-mulkadar lands, including the lands of the Armenian church, would have to redeem their lands within a maximum of fifty-six years. The principle of redemption was the same as in the Decree of 1870: the landowner was to get capital sufficient to yield him an interest

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[206]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 188.

[207]A. Lalaian, "XIII godovshchina Sovetskoi Armenii i sotsialisticheskaia rekonstruktsiia ee sel'skogo khoziaistva," [The Thirteenth Anniversary of Soviet Armenia and The Socialist Reconstruction of Its Agriculture] Revoliutsionnyi Vostok, No. 6 (1933), pp. 139-140.

[208]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 181.

[209]Esaian, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

equivalent to the former income of his holdings.[210] Redemption payments in Armenia were finally abolished in June 7, 1917 by the Provisional Government; but the landlords retained control of vast tracts of land, including forests and pastures.[211]

As the market for Armenian crops expanded in the towns of Transcaucasia and in Russia, many peasants were able to accumulate a little cash for the buying of goods not of their own manufacture. The rural usurer made loans to the peasants, taking the peasant's unharvested crop as a guarantee of payment of the loan. Having sold the grain of the peasants in town, he bought various manufactures to sell to the peasants on credit. The exorbitant interest rates charged by these usurers often brought the peasant to complete ruin.[212]

The peasant was at a disadvantage in his relations with such merchants; but from the beginning of the twentieth century some peasants had the recourse of joining consumer cooperatives. The first consumer cooperative was organized in the village of Megri in 1899. Megri was an exceptional village; it had a local intelligentsia which kept in touch with the currents of opinion

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[210] Ibid., pp. 138-141.

[211] Ibid., p. 151.

[212] Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

from Tiflis. A village schoolteacher, who was studying in the Riga polytechnicum, obtained the necessary information on how to organize a consumer cooperative, and sent it back to his friends in Megri. The cooperative was chartered at the end of 1899. By 1915 there were seven other consumers cooperatives in Armenia.[213]

On the initiative of the government, credit cooperatives were also organized in Armenia. The first one was founded in 1897 in the Russian village of Vorontsovka, and by 1916 there were fifty-seven in all.[214] In the early twentieth century several cooperatives for the production of dairy products were organized among the Russian peasants of the Lori district.[215] Thus, in the period 1881-1917 not only did capitalist relations develop in the Armenian countryside, but the cooperative movement, which was to play an important role in rural economy during 1921-1928, was also started.

The exportation of the commercial crops of Armenia was greatly facilitated by railroad building at the turn of the century. A north-south line from Russia through Tiflis was extended to Alexandropol in 1898, to Erivan in 1901, and to Julfa, on the Persian border, in 1908.

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[213] Ibid., pp. 63-83, passim.

[214] Ibid., pp. 133-138.

[215] Ibid., pp. 194-199.

A branch of this line was extended eastward from Alexandropol to Kars and Sarykamysh in 1901.[216] These railroads were built mainly for the military needs of the government. They did little to help the Armenian's internal commerce, which moved east-west between the Arax Valley and the mountain villages.[217]

Armenia had only three paved roads prior to 1917. One raod ran north from Julfa to Erivan, Alexandropol, Vorontsovka and Tiflis; a branch of this road went from Erivan to Delijan and Akstafa, on the Tiflis-Baku railroad; and another road went east from Delijan to Alexandropol and Kars. The paved roads were built by the government mainly for military purposes, but they also facilitated commerce in the country.

By 1917 Armenia had a skeleton telegraph system; the only telephones were in Erivan.[218] Rapid communication with most rural areas was impossible. The lack of communications made it difficult to coordinate revolutionary movements and resulted in some interesting political complications in the period 1917-1921.

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[216]"Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[217]Armenia (S.S.R.), Sovet narodnykh komissarov, Materialy k otchetu pravitel'stva SSR Armenia (1929-34) k VIII s'ezdu sovetov (Erivan, 1935), p. 67.

[218]Ibid., p. 77.

The building of railways and paved roads around the turn of the century made possible the establishment of the first capitalist industries in Transcaucasia. During the nineteenth century a number of Armenian merchants in Erivan, Alexandropol and elsewhere managed to accumulate some surplus capital for investment purposes. Investment opportunities in Armenia proper were limited: there was little internal market for industrial goods, and the existing demand was being met by cheap goods from Russia and abroad. The Armenian merchants for the most part did not have sufficient capital or technical information to exploit the mineral resources of Armenia.[219] A great many of them moved to Tiflis, where the climate and cultural facilities were better than in Armenia; others went to Baku and Batum. In these large centers they made their investments, particularly in the oil industry of Baku. The growth of the oil industry there in the late nineteenth century had made Russia the largest oil producer in the world. Of the 250,000 inhabitants of Baku in 1914, about 60,000 were Armenians.[220] Most of the latter were impoverished young Armenian peasants from Zangezur and Karabagh who sought to increase the income of their families.

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[219]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 7.

[220]Pasdermadjian, op. cit., p. 33.

Armenia proper remained relatively undeveloped. By 1913 the value of all industrial production was about 19% of the total economic product of Armenia.[221] The copper industry accounted for about 60% of the gross production of large-scale industry, while the wine and cognac factories accounted for about 25%.[222] There were about 5,000 workers in the large-scale industries of Armenia, of which 88% were in the copper industry.[223] The working day was ten to twelve hours; in the copper refinery of Allaverdi women and children worked as long as twelve hours a day in wretched conditions.[224]

The first important concession for the commercial exploitation of the copper of Armenia was given at Allaverdi in about 1881 to the French Compagnie Metallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase. The company got another concession

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[221]A. Lalaian, "Sotsialisticheskoe razvitie Armenii v sisteme SSSR," [Socialist Growth of Armenia in the System of the U.S.S.R.] Revolûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 3 (1935), p. 168.

[222]"Armſanskaſa Sotsialisticheskaſa Sovetskaſa Respublika," Bol'shaſa Sovetskaſa Entsiklopediſa, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[223]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 268.

[224]Gabrielian, loc. cit., p. 443.

in the Kafan area of Zangezur in 1911, after which they began to buy out the small-scale operations of Armenian capitalists in the area. In both Allaverdi and Kafan the copper mines provided much-needed employment to the peasants of the impoverished countryside.[225]

The Armenian peasant left his native village to work in the industries of Transcaucasia because land was becoming scarcer every year. After 1828 the eastern Armenian countryside enjoyed peace and security for eighty-six years: this gave rise to a phenomenal increase in the population. In the area of what is now Soviet Armenia, the total population increased from 161,747 in 1831, to 797,853 in 1897. Armenians accounted for 110,671 of the total population in 1831, and 510,855 of the total in 1897.[226] In the course of sixty-six years the Armenian population increased 460%. Immigration from Turkish Armenia and elsewhere accounted for much of this increase.

The total number of Armenians in Transcaucasia in 1897 was 1,055,016, of which 441,000 were in Erivan gubernia.[227] Other districts of Armenian predominance

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[225]Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e [Soviet Transcaucasia] (Erivan, 1946), pp. 196-197.

[226]Gorgodian, op. cit., pp. 164-167.

[227]V. A. Sarafian, "The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule," Armenian Review, VI, No. 3 (1953), 113-114.

were Akhaltsykh, Akhalkalaki, and Borchalu (Lori) in Tiflis gubernia and the Karabakh district of Elizabetpol gubernia. There were also large numbers of Armenians in the Zangezur district of Elizabetpol gubernia, in the Kars oblast, and in the cities of Tiflis and Baku.[228]

In 1917, according to the government estimate given in the Kavkazskii Kalendar', there were 1,809,605 Armenians in the Caucasus, of which 669,871 were in Erivan gubernia. This showed an increase of over 200,000 Armenians in Erivan gubernia since 1897: but some of the increase can be attributed to the influx of Turkish Armenian refugees.[229]

There was a marked movement of Armenians toward the towns of Transcaucasia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During 1913, the number of Armenian peasants in Erivan gubernia who left their land after selling or renting it was 48,742; of these, 29,000 left Erivan gubernia, most of them bound for Tiflis and Baku in search of work. Another 17,500 moved to other parts of Erivan gubernia. Such was the general trend in the early twentieth century.[230] The urban population of

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[228]Lynch, op. cit., I, 453.

[229]Armenia (1918-1920), Delegation à la Conference de la paix, Données statistiques des populations de la Transcaucasie (Paris, 1920), pp. 6-7 and Annex 4.

[230]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 267.

Armenia proper (Erivan and Alexandropol only) grew from 59,622 in 1897, to 83,316 in 1914, an increase of about 23,000.[231]

Of the native peoples of the Caucasus, the Armenians held the dominant position in commerce and industry.[232] Of the total Armenian population of the Caucasus in 1897, 21.4% were classified as urban. By way of comparison, 16.6% of all Russians, 11.8% of all Georgians, and 10.6% of all Turco-Tartars in the Caucasus as this time were considered as urban dwellers.[233] About 41.4% of all Armenians in 1897 were engaged in commerce and industry or were in paid jobs of various types.[234] In comparison, 27.3% of all self-supporting Georgians and 23.7% of all self-supporting Tartars were in these occupational categories.[235] These statistics

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[231]Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, op. cit., p. 15.

[232]B. Ishkhanian, Narodnosti Kavkaza (Petrograd, 1916), p. 97.

[233]Ibid., p. 37.

[234]Ibid., p. 87.

[235]Ibid., p. 88.

reflect the relatively greater urbanization and occupational differentiation of the Armenians in the Caucasus. In this respect the position of the Armenians in the Caucasus was similar to that of the Jews in Russia proper; in addition, the Armenians, like the Jews, did not form a concentrated unit in a compact territory.

It may be concluded that the trend toward urbanization among the Armenians of the Caucasus was a result of two important developments: the impressive growth in the total number of Armenians and the consequent pressure on the land; and the establishment of large-scale capitalist industries in Transcaucasia.

Cultural Developments

The predominant cultural trend among Armenians in the nineteenth century was secularization. Clerical influence waned over Armenian language, literature and education. The most important cause for this trend was the influence of Western education on Armenian youth.

The first secondary school for Armenians on a European model was Nersesian College, founded in Tiflis by the Catholikos Nerses in 1823. A number of the leading figures in Eastern Armenian literature in the nineteenth century were graduates of this college. Another important institution was Lazarian College, founded in Moscow by a rich Armenian family in 1816.

Originally a secondary school for Armenians, it was later taken over by the Russian Government and became an oriental academy and institute of living oriental languages with an international student body.[236]

German scholarship had an important influence on Armenian youth. In the mid-nineteenth century many young Armenians finished their university studies at the University of Dorpat, an advance post of German learning in Livonia. Later they went on to the Universities of Berlin, Jena, or Heidelberg.[237] Only a few Eastern Armenians attended Swiss and French universities. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, most Eastern Armenians attended Russian universities: in 1914 several thousand of them were studying in Russia and only several hundred in Western Europe.[238]

One of the first consequences of the influence of Western education among Eastern Armenians was the movement to use the Eastern vernacular, instead of classic Armenian, in contemporary literature. In the course of 1,500 years spoken Armenian had evolved to the point that the classic written language of the fifth century was virtually

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[236]K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 257-258.

[237]H. Thorossian, Histoire de la littérature arménienne (Paris, 1951), p. 322.

[238]Pasdermadjian, op. cit., p. 305.

incomprehensible to all except the learned Armenian clergy. The first leader in the movement to establish the Eastern vernacular as a literary language was Khachatour Abovian. After attending Echmiadzin Seminary and Nersesian College, Abovian attended the University of Dorpat (1830-1836), where he studied pedagogy and literature. On returning to Armenia he tried to introduce the teaching of the vernacular as a written language in the parochial schools, but failed as a result of the opposition of the conservative clergy. He then became principal of a Russian government school in Tiflis, and organized a private school for Armenians on the side. For his private school he wrote textbooks in the Eastern Armenian vernacular. In 1848 Abovian disappeared under mysterious circumstances.[239]

The man who carried on Abovian's pioneer effort was Stepan Nazarian (1812-1870). Nazarian attended Nersesian College, the University of Dorpat, and received his Ph.D. from the University of Kazan. From 1849 until his death he was a professor at the Lazarian Academy. At this academy he and his friends combined the Eastern Armenian dialects into a standard literary language. In 1858 they began publishing a journal, Hiusisapail (Northern Lights), in Moscow, in which the Eastern

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[239]K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 253 and Thorossian, op. cit., p. 327.

vernacular was employed. This journal, which lasted until 1864, sought to prepare the Armenian people for a literary and social renaissance by erecting an intellectual bridge between Armenian and Europe and by spreading the use of the written vernacular. By the end of the nineteenth century the vernacular movement had attained success.[240]

The secularization of the Armenian language was accompanied by the secularization of the content of Armenian literature. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Armenian literature was mostly the work of laymen and was less religious and moralistic in content. The Armenian Nation, not God, was the source of its inspiration.[241] The new literature contained much patriotic effusion, but at the same time it included more objective studies of Armenian mores and ethnography.[242]

One of the champions of Armenian secular literature was Michael Nalbandian (1829-1866), who attended the Universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, taught at the Lazarian Academy, and wrought for Hiusisapail. A friend of Dobroliubov and Chernyshevky, he championed narodnichestvo

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[240]Thorossian, op. cit., pp. 289, 322, and 329.

[241]A. Sarkissian, History of the Armenian Question to 1885 (Urbana, 1938), p. 133.

[242]Thorossian, op. cit., p. 289.

and Materialism. The following quotation from Nalbandian expresses the spirit of the new Armenian secularism:

> The time has passed when people were inspired by all kinds of abstract and mystical nonsense---now a mercilessly concrete world with an iron club in hand demands for itself its just tribute. Humanity is tied down to the terrestial globe. Experience teaches it to seek the causes of happiness and unhappiness on the terrestial globe.[243]

The outstanding leader of Armenian secularism in the latter part of the nineteenth century was Krikor Ardzruni (1845-1890), who founded the newspaper Mshag (Cultivator) in Tiflis in 1872. This newspaper was "the first important Armenian paper in the Caucasus if not in the world," according to A. O. Sarkissian. Ardzruni's father was a general in the Russian Army and at one time Governor of Tiflis. Krikor was educated at the Universities of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and a number of European universities. At the age of twenty-six he founded Mshag for the purpose of stirring up the social and intellectual life of Caucasian Armenians by spreading Western enlightenment. Ardzruni was a quarrelsome, daring iconoclast who attacked the wealthy classes and the clergy with impunity. The circulation of Mshag rose steadily and by the 1880's it had become a national institution.[244]

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[243] Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, p. 281.

[244] Sarkissian, op. cit., p. 123.

The impact of secularism was also felt in the Armenian parochial school system. By the end of the nineteenth century many Armenian teachers and laymen at large had become disciples of secularism through their experiences in Western European and Russian universities. In 1906 there was organized the Union of Armenian Teachers of the Caucasus, which propagated the theories of German pedagogy and its organ, Nor Tbrots (New School), published in Tiflis from 1907 to 1914.[245] Although the parochial schools remained under the supervision of the bishop of each diocese, they became almost wholly secular in nature.[246] In 1908, of the thirty hours of instruction per week only two hours were devoted to religion, the remainder being devoted to secular subjects.[247]

There were 458 general elementary and secondary schools in Armenia in the school year 1913-1914. Besides these there were six professional schools and the Echmiadzin Academy.[248] These 465 schools were staffed by 1,177

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[245] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., pp. 273-275.

[246] Ibid., p. 267.

[247] Ibid., p. 278.

[248] Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

teachers and attended by 35,177 pupils. About 16% of children of school age in Armenia attended school.[249]

The rate of literacy in 1897 of those whose native tongue was Armenian was 7.5% in Erivan gubernia, 9.4% in Baku and Elizabetpol gubernias, and 20.3% in Tiflis and Kutais gubernias.[250]

By the beginning of World War I great masses of Armenians were still untouched by formal education of any kind; but the new Armenian elite, influenced by "Western enlightenment," had given its loyalty to the new gods of secularism and nationalism.

Effects of Developments, 1881-1917, on Armenian Culture

The political, socio-economic, and cultural developments discussed in the preceding section led to a significant transformation of traditional Armenian institutions and values. Beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century many impoverished peasants moved to urban areas in search of work. This affected the patriarchal family in at least three ways: (1) The consanguinous family quarter of the village was penetrated by "foreign"

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[249]A. G. Kalashnikov, ed., Pedagogicheskaia Entsiklopediia [Pedagogical Encyclopedia] (Moscow, 1927-1929), III, 642.

[250]Kommunisticheskaia akademiia (Moscow), Komissiia po izucheniiu natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naia politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh [National Policy of the All-Union Communist Party in Figures] (Moscow, 1930), p. 273.

elements who bought the houses left vacant.[251] (2) The large patriarchal family began to break up into smaller units. When individual members of the family started earning wages in industry they tended to keep these earnings for themselves instead of turning them over to the patriarch. Then a row would start, and the common family property would be divided.[252] There were only 7.1 persons in the average household in Erivan gubernia in 1897;[253] in conservative Zangezur the most numerous families contained only twenty to twenty-five persons in 1898, and there were only two or three such families in each village.[254] (3) A younger member of the family might accumulate more wealth than that at the disposal of the patriarch. In such a case the patriarch was forced to submit to the authority of the younger man, who was then regarded as ishkhanavor (powerful). By the beginning of the twentieth century the functions of the patriarch had almost died out among the Eastern Armenians, although the head of the smaller family unit retained his authority in his smaller sphere of influence.[255]

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[251]Bdoian, loc. cit., p. 190.

[252]Chursin, op. cit., p. 241.

[253]Ishkanian, op. cit., p. 42.

[254]Chursin, op. cit., p. 241.

[255]Bdoian, loc. cit., p. 191.

Among the Armenians educated in Europe and Russia, the custom of ethnic endogamy was no longer uniformly observed. Khachatour Abovian married a German girl and "established a complete German household," according to Haxthausen.[256] In spite of their patriotism, other Armenians married Russian revolutionary women.[257]

Armenian women in the more wealthy and educated families became more "emancipated." Many such women obtained a secondary and higher education. In 1906 the Catholikos gave urban women the right to vote in Church elections and hold office in the Armenian community.[258] The custom for young women to be silent in the presence of their elders began to die out, especially in Tiflis.[259]

A clever description of the customs and manners of an urban Armenian family in a state of transition is presented in the play, "The Ruined Family," written by Gabriel Sundukianz in about 1872. Two of the principal characters are Ossep, an Armenian merchant of Tiflis, and his wife, Salome, who exchange the following conversation:

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[256]Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 93.

[257]Loris-Melikov, op. cit., p. 79.

[258]Descamps, loc. cit., pp. 64-65.

[259]Armenian Literature, p. 131.

> Salome. "Against the manners and customs of the world you can do nothing, however."
> Ossep. "The devil take your manners and customs. If you hold so fast to old ways, then stick to all of them. Is it an old custom...that a girl should be ashamed to go with her own people and should walk around on the arm of a strange young man: is that also one of the good old customs?....Why do we still need to have bedclothes for twenty-four beds for guests?....Why does one not visit a mother with a young baby and stay whole months with them? Why does one invite 100 persons to a wedding and give funeral feasts and let eighty women mourners come and howl like so many dervishes.[260]

Many of the young men who went to work in the towns did not take their families with them and were absent from the village only during certain seasons. In 1897, 22.44% of all Armenian men of the Caucasus lived in towns, and only 20.7% of all Armenian women.[261]

The penetration of capitalism in the Armenian countryside led to many changes in habits and fashions. Armenian women began to wear Western dress instead of their traditional costume. Phonographs and records began to replace the native musical instruments. Some families began to cook on a primus stove instead of the family hearth. Farm machinery and automobiles were seen for the first time in Armenia.[262]

The introduction of cheap Western goods into Armenia injured the local handicraft industries. Artisans began to move from the towns to the countryside, and as factory products reached even the village, the local

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[260] Ibid., p. 94. [261] Ishkhanian, op. cit., p. 37.

[262] Pichikian, op. cit., p. 75.

tradesmen were forced to practise their trades in obscure nooks and hamlets.[263] The guild system had virtually disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.

The stratification of the peasantry into richer and poorer elements was noted in the previous section. Peasants limited to subsistence cereal culture became more and more impoverished, while peasants producing for urban markets prospered. Dependent relations in the countryside were finally abolished in 1912.

Erivan and Alexandropol grew and prospered. Alexandropol, in particular, enjoyed a great development during the nineteenth century because of the Russian Army post located nearby. Armenian merchants, contractors, and speculators engaged in profitable business here.[264] The town grew from a tiny village in 1828 to a city with a population of 51,316 in 1914.[265]

The Armenian Church and parochial schools also underwent some changes in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The use of the vernacular in church sermons was officially sanctioned in 1867. The Catholikos, Mukrtich Khrimian, instituted a number of reforms: the education standards demanded of monks were raised in 1892; urban

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[263] Ibid., p. 12.

[264] Hartill, op. cit., p. 274.

[265] Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, op. cit., p. 15.

women were allowed to vote in church elections after 1906; divorces were granted more liberally.[266] The secularization of the Armenian parochial schools has already been described. The internal organization of the Church, however, remained intact.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century new organizations began to claim Armenian loyalty. There were organized various Armenian benevolent and welfare societies which contributed funds to the support of Armenian schools, gave help to poor Armenians, published books and magazines, and founded hospitals, libraries, and reading rooms. These societies included the Armenian Philanthropic Society of Baku, (founded in 1863); The Armenian Society of Publications and the Society of Armenian Welfare, both founded in Tiflis in 1880; and the Armenian Welfare Society of the Caucasus, founded in 1881, with branches in Erivan, Alexandropol, Shousha and elsewhere.[267] In addition, several political parties were organized, notably the Dashnaktsutiun. The appearance of these secondary institutions was significant because it meant that Armenian attention and loyalty was becoming focused more on all-national goals. The Armenian Church had lost its exclusive leadership of Armenian national life.

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[266]Arpee, op. cit., p. 287; Lynch, op. cit., I, 274.

[267]Aknouni, op. cit., p. 82.

The growth of capitalism in Transcaucasia and the increasing secularization of Armenian life resulted in the secularizing of Armenian values. Many Armenians began to seek higher levels of success in this world, and were no longer contented with an abundant harvest of grain and children. Now they sought to raise their living standards to the Western European level, to obtain a Western education, and to participate in the new all-national organizations.

Armenian nationalism also developed in this period. This nationalism was something distinct from mere ethnic loyalty; it was something more than the preference to live, do business, and marry among one's own people. Nationalism had a goal: the liberation, unification and material advancement of the Armenian people. Armenian nationalism became possible only after the Armenians became aware of their "Armenian-ness"--aware of the institutions and values which distinguished them as a people; aware of their position in a process of social and political change. Armenian nationalism became possible only when Armenians no longer accepted their position in life; when the patterns of their behavior were no longer rigidly defined by the family, village and church.

> Behind the spreading of national consciousness there was at work perhaps a deeper change---a new <u>value</u> assigned to people <u>as they are</u>, or as they can become, with as much diversity of interlocking

> roles as will not destroy or stifle any of their personalities.[268]

By 1917 secularism and nationalism had not penetrated evenly all the strata of Armenian society. The Armenian peasants, which constituted about 90% of all Eastern Armenians, had either felt only slightly the impact of political and socio-economic developments, or else had reacted to those developments in a passive manner. But in the crisis of 1917-1921 the Armenian peasants for the most part followed the leadership of the educated elite of the nation.

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[268]Deutsch, op. cit., p. 18.

CHAPTER III

THE YEARS BETWEEN: 1917-1921

Greater anguish cannot be
Than when brother strikes at brother,
Kin yet mortal enemy.

---Hagop Hagopian, 1904.

CHAPTER III

THE YEARS BETWEEN, 1917-1921

During the critical period of 1917-1921 the Armenian people felt the impact of five important developments: the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, the establishment of an independent Armenian state, the regeneration of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal, and the Sovietization of Armenia. The course of events in Transcaucasia during this period will be outlined briefly in the following section.

Chronology of Developments

During March 12-16, 1917[1] the Tsarist regime was overthrown and a Provisional Government was established in Petrograd. At the same time a Soviet (Council) of Workers' Deputies was organized in Petrograd, and soon after other soviets were organized in various parts of the Russian Empire. In Transcaucasia soviets were organized in Tiflis and in Baku, and a Regional Center of Soviets was organized in Tiflis. The Regional Center, dominated by the Georgian Mensheviks, held the real power in Transcaucasia. The Special Transcaucasian Committee (Ozakom), was appointed by the Provisional Government to rule the area temporarily,

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[1]Dating according to the Gregorian (new style) calendar will be used in all cases.

but it was a shadow government after the summer of 1917.[2]

The Armenians of Russia, led by the Dashnaktsutiun, strongly supported the Provisional Government and looked forward to the convening of the Constituent Assembly, which was to determine the future form of government for the Russian Empire. Such was the attitude taken by the Dashnak Regional Conference in April and the Armenian National Congress in October. The Congress elected an Armenian National Council of fifteen persons, under the chairmanship of a Dashnak, to remain in permanent session in Tiflis and direct the affairs of the Armenian people. The Central Committee of Turkish Armenians was given the right to send representatives to this Council.[3]

In April 1917 the Bolsheviks in Russia came out openly against the Provisional Government and called for an armed insurrection. On October 15, 1917 the Bolsheviks convened their first Transcaucasian regional congress in Tiflis. But after the Bolshevik Party seized power in Russia (November 7, 1917), Transcaucasia remained under Menshevik control. On November 11 the Regional Center of Soviets condemned the Bolshevik Coup. In early December

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[2]R. E. Pipes, The Formation of the Soviet Union (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 50 and 98.

[3]F. Kazemzadeh, The Struggle for Transcaucasia (New York, 1951), p. 45.

the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party appointed an Armenian, Stepan Shaumian, as Extraordinary Commissar for Transcaucasia, with orders to seize power.[4]

On November 24 the now defunct Ozakom was replaced by the Transcaucasian Commissariat, composed of two Georgian Mensheviks, a Georgian Federalist, four members of the Mussavat (the Azerbaijani nationalist party), two Social-Revolutionaries, and two Dashnaks. The Commissariat sought to maintain order in the region until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. The Regional Congress of Soviets, which met in December, 1917, supported the Commissariat.[5]

About this time the Russian Army on the Caucasian front began to disintegrate, and the Turkish Army advanced eastward. On December 18 the Transcaucasian Commissariat concluded an armistice with the Turks. During the winter of 1917-1918 the Commissariat organized a Military Council of Nationalities, but each nationality maintained its own troops under autonomous command. The Armenian Army Corps, including three infantry divisions, was organized in December.[6]

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[4]Pipes, op. cit., p. 106.

[5]Kazemzadeh, op. cit., p. 63.

[6]Ibid., pp. 82-83.

On November 15, 1917 the Bolsheviks in Petrograd issued a declaration containing promises to the Armenians far beyond the dreams of most Armenian nationalists. The right of all nationalities to free self-determination, up to and including separation from Russia, was affirmed. Another decree, on December 31, proclaimed the right of Turkish Armenia to self-determination. The latter decree did not arouse Armenian enthusiasm, because it contained the provision that all Russian troops be evacuated from Turkish Armenia, leaving the area open to Turkish attack.[7]

Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in December, 1917 throughout the Russian Empire, including Transcaucasia. The Dashnaktsutiun received 20% of all votes cast in Transcaucasia, including most of the Armenian votes. The Bolsheviks received only 4.3% of the total votes in Transcaucasia.[8] On January 5, 1918, the Assembly met in Moscow, but was dissolved the next day by the Bolsheviks. After the Transcaucasian delegates returned, the Transcaucasian Commissariat decided to organize the Transcaucasian Seim, an autonomous legislative body for the region. There were 29 Georgian, 44 Moslem, and 21 Armenian members of the Seim, which met on February 23, 1918. On March 9 the Seim organized a provisional government for Transcaucasia.

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[7] Ibid., pp. 56 and 92.

[8] Pipes, op. cit., pp. 102-104.

On April 10 the Seim reluctantly accepted the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as a basis for further negotiations with the Turks. Under Turkish pressure, the Seim proclaimed the organization of an independent Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic on April 22, 1918. The Republic was dominated by the Georgian Mensheviks. It controlled neither southwestern Transcaucasia, which had been occupied by the Turks, nor eastern Transcaucasia, which was now under Bolshevik control.

The Bolsheviks, led by Stepan Shaumian, had made an alliance with the Dashnaktsutiun in eastern Transcaucasia and with Dashnak help managed to take control of the industrial city of Baku in April, 1918. Meanwhile, Turkish troops began to advance both northward toward Tiflis and eastward toward Baku. In July the Bolsheviks lost control of the Baku Soviet and on September 15, 1918, Baku was occupied by Turkish troops.

As Turkish troops advanced toward Tiflis, Georgia received unexpected help from Germany, Turkey's ally. The Germans wanted to keep the rich mineral resources of Transcaucasia for themselves. On May 26 Georgia seceded from the Transcaucasian Federation, proclaimed its independence, and placed itself under German protection. Armenia proclaimed its independence on May 28 and organized a republican government. Azerbaijan also proclaimed its independence on May 28.

Unlike Georgia, Armenia was without allies. Turkish troops advanced steadily on Alexandropol and Nakhichevan, which were defended only by the Armenian volunteer divisions. On June 4 Armenia was forced to sign a treaty with Turkey whereby Armenia lost Kars, Ardahan, the Borchalu (Lori) district, and parts of the districts of Echmiadzin, Sharour (Daralagiaz) and Nakhichevan. In addition, Armenia was forced to hand over the Alexandropol-Julfa Railroad to the Turks.[9]

The Turkish triumph was short-lived, however. On October 30, 1918 the Turks capitulated to the Allies at Mudros; on November 30 British troops landed in Baku and occupied most of Transcaucasia. Armenia occupied parts of eastern Anatolia, including Kars, and in May, 1919, the Armenian Republic officially proclaimed the annexation of Turkish Armenia.[10] The Republic sent a delegation to present Armenian claims to the Versailles Conference.

A rejuvenated Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, prepared to resist Allied plans for its dismemberment. In July, 1919, a conference was held in Erzerum, where the Turkish National Pact was signed. This pact included a provision calling for the return to Turkey of all its former holdings in eastern Anatolia, including Kars, Ardahan, and Batum.

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[9]Kazemzadeh, op. cit., p. 127.

[10]Pipes, op. cit., pp. 206 and 210.

Toward the end of 1919 President Wilson sent a commission, headed by General Harbord, to investigate the possibilities of an American mandate in Armenia. The commission reported that considerable American troops would be required to protect such a mandate, and that no arrangements should be made until the positions of Turkey and of Bolshevik Russia were defined.[11] In January, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council in Paris recognized the de facto independence of Armenia, but committed itself no further.[12]

The government of the Armenian Republic was democratic in form, but, in fact, Armenia was ruled by the leaders of the Dashnaktsutiun.[13] It will be remembered that the Dashnaktsutiun, like the Bolshevik Party, had been an underground organization employing conspiratorial tactics. Many of its members had had no experience in the normal conduct of government, as a result of the Tsarist policy of excluding Armenians from the Imperial civil service.

The Armenian Republic was haunted by the gruesome nightmare of the Armenian massacres in Turkey. There were several hundred thousand Turkish Armenian refugees crammed

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[11]Association for International Conciliation, American Branch, Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia (New York, 1920), passim.

[12]Pipes, op. cit., p. 216.

[13]J. Loris-Melikoff, La révolution russe et les nouvelles républiques transcaucasiennes (Paris, 1920), pp. 169-170.

into Dashnak Armenia, most of whom had gone through experiences like the following:

> All of us were a little insane as we brooded over our immediate fate in a mad tense silence, leaning against each other for support, yet so terribly alone....
>
> I saw a woman's nude body in the river here. Her long hair floated down the current, her bloated white abdomen glistened in the sun. I noticed that one of her breasts was cut off.... The corpses became a common sight....When, some minutes later, I looked at the river again I saw a long, long band of frothy blood clinging to its banks.[14]

Within the Armenian Republic there was a large minority of Moslem Tartars. According to Dashnak reports, the Turks incited to Tartars to rebel against the Armenian authorities. According to an American employee of Near East Relief, a former officer in the Armenian Army declared:

> As the Turks had solved the Armenian problem in Turkey by slaying or driving the Armenians out of the country, so we now proceeded to solve the Tartar problem in Armenia. We closed the roads and mountain passes that might serve as ways of escape for the Tartars, and then proceeded in the work of extermination.[15]

The Tartar massacres took place toward the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920. Most of the Tartars who were not killed fled to Azerbaijan and Turkey. According to a Soviet source, more than 300 villages in Erivan

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[14]L. Z. Surmelian, I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen (New York, 1945), pp. 101 and 104.

[15]L. R. Hartill, Men Are Like That (Indianapolis, 1928), pp. 110 and 133.

gubernia were cleared of Tartars;[16] and, according to a Dashnak source, 150 in Zangezur district were likewise cleared.[17] In 1897 there were 240,000 Moslems in the area of what is now Soviet Armenia; by 1922, only 78,000 were left.[18] The Government also confiscated the lands and cattle of Russian peasants in the Republic, and many of these peasants also left Armenia.[19]

The misery within the Armenian Republic during 1919-1920 is almost beyond description. Before the war Armenia had imported two million poods of grain; all imports were now cut off. In 1919 agricultural production in Armenia was only 37% of its pre-war level.[20] There were now two or three hundred thousand destitute Turkish Armenian refugees in the country. According to Vratzian,

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[16] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei (Moscow), March 22, 1922, p. 3.

[17] S. Vratzian, Hayasdani Hanrabedoutiun [The Armenian Republic] p. 341.

[18] Z. Gorgodian, Khorhrtayin hayasdani pnagchoutyoune verchin haryouramiagoum, 1831-1931 [The Population of Soviet Armenia in the Last Hundred Years, 1831-1931] (Erivan, 1932), pp. 164-167.

[19] M. Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia [Soviet Armenia] (Petrograd-Moscow, 1923), pp. 122-123.

[20] O. E. Tumanian, Razvitie ekonomiki Armenii s nachala XIX veka do ustanovleniia Sovetskoi vlasti [Growth of the Economy of Armenia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Establishment of Soviet Power] (Erivan, 1947), p. 278.

Armenia was saved from starving in this period only by the help of American Near East Relief.[21]

Employment in the oil industry in Baku had fallen off 71% by 1920, and several thousand unemployed Armenian workers had returned to their villages in Armenia.[22] Industrial production within Armenia in 1919 was only 13% of its pre-war level.[23] People everywhere were in desperate need of food, clothing, medicines and fuel. Baldwin reported that in Erivan, during the dreadful winter of 1920-1921,

> The local cinema was commandeered as a kind of workhouse into which were driven all those men, women and children who were at death's door....The hall was pitch dark and the floor covered with the living, dying and dead. The stench from this mass of humanity was indescribable, the groans heart-rending....No attempt was made to feed these wretched people; no attempt to attend them medically ....There were no sanitary arrangements....Once in the hall, no one came out alive. The carts took the bodies to the pits and returned for more....[24]

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[21]Vratzian, Hayasdani Hanrabedoutyoun, p. 214 ff.

[22]G. Pichikian, Narodnoe khozʃaistvo i kooperatsiʃa Armenii [People's Economy and Cooperation of Armenia] (Tiflis, 1927), pp. 95-96.

[23]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 278.

[24]O. Baldwin, Six Prisons and Two Revolutions (New York, 1925), pp. 96-97.

During 1919 in Erivan alone 14,000 persons died (23% of the total population of the town).[25] A Soviet source estimates that 431,000 persons died in the Armenian Republic during 1918-1920.[26]

In the face of such a dreadful situation, what did the Armenian Government do? It collected no cash taxes from the peasantry, but, according to a Soviet source, it "requisitioned surplus bread in the name of the salvation of the nation and the fatherland."[27] It handed over lands cleared of Moslems to the Turkish Armenian refugees.[28] It ordered rich peasants in some districts to give their surplus lands to poor peasants.[29]

The Government encouraged consumer cooperatives, which were organized into a single organization, Haigoob (Armenian Cooperation), in January, 1919.[30] Toward the end

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[25]"Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika" [Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic], Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedi͡ia [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[26]Tumanian, op. cit., p. 283.

[27]B. A. Borian, Armeni͡a mezhdunarodnai͡a diplomati͡ia i SSSR [Armenia International Diplomacy, and the USSR] (Moscow, 1928-1929), II, 93.

[28]Ibid., p. 120.

[29]Shaginian, op. cit., p. 83.

[30]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 91.

of 1920 the membership of these cooperatives totaled 112,455.[31] The Government also encouraged trade unions; in January, 1920, the representatives of thirteen unions met in Erivan to form the Union of Unions.[32] Between July and December, 1920 the Government reorganized the police force, army, and tax system; created public works; re-established postal, telegraph, telephone and railroad communications; and organized local government.[33] But all these laudable efforts were inadequate to meet the desperate needs of the population.

Outside the Republic, meanwhile, preparations were being made for the Sovietization of Armenia. The abiding aim of Communist foreign policy was the attraction of all peoples to the cause of the world Communist revolution. The Communists advocated national self-determination, in theory, because they realized the strength of nationalist feeling; but in practise, they never allowed a nationalist movement to come before the interests of world revolution. Unfortunately for the Armenians, the chief "revolutionary" ally of Soviet Russia in the Near East during 1919-1921

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[31] Ibid., p. 101

[32] Vratzian, op. cit., p. 328.

[33] Armenia (1918-1920), Delegation de la République Arménienne à la Conference de la paix, L'Arménie au point de vue économique (Paris, 1922), p. 15.

was Kemalist Turkey; and Kemalist Turkey was an implacable enemy of the Armenian people. For the sake of its alliance with Turkey, Soviet Russia was ready to sacrifice Armenian interests: Armenia was "expendable."[34]

The Soviets had no intention of abandoning all of Armenia to Turkey, however. They hoped to use the pro-Russian sentiments of the Transcaucasian Armenians in order to attract them to Soviet Russia.[35] Furthermore, the Soviets did not entirely trust their Turkish "ally." According to Pipes, relations between Russia and Turkey deteriorated in the second half of 1920; and in January, 1921, the Turks arrested the most important Communist agents in Turkey and expelled them.[36] In view of this the Soviets were unwilling to turn over the railroads and strategic military positions of Eastern Armenia to Turkey.

The instruments of Soviet policy in Armenia were the Red Army, the Commissariat of Nationalities (Narkomnats), and the Armenian Communist Party. The Red Army was not employed in Armenia until the winter of 1920-1921. The Commissariat of Armenian Affairs, a division of Narkomnats, carried on the work of spreading Communist propaganda and conducting philanthropic work among the Armenian minority in Russia proper. It also trained Armenian war prisoners to become Party workers and was an operational center for

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[34]Borian, op. cit., II, 175.

[35]Ibid., p. 238. [36]Pipes, op. cit., p. 234.

Armenian Communists in Russia.[37] However, Communist activities in Armenia proper were directed by the general organs of the Russian Communist Party.

In 1917 the only Communists in Armenia were a few instructors and students at the Echmiadzin Seminary and in Erivan. Prior to 1919 the Armenian Communists in Tiflis, Baku, and Russia proper had only a negligible influence in Armenia.[38] In 1927 it was found that of the total living Armenian Communists in Armenia, only 192 had joined the Party in 1917 or earlier.[39]

The main reason that the Bolsheviks failed to attract support in Armenia was the fact that they swam against the current of Armenian nationalism. They stood for immediate peace with the Central Powers (including Turkey)--peace at almost any price. At Brest-Litovsk they consented to the annexation of Kars and Ardahan to Turkey; and at the First Transcaucasian Regional Congress (October, 1917) they resolved that the separation of

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[37] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, various issues between November 9, 1918 and December 8, 1920.

[38] S. Vratzian, "How Armenia Was Sovietized," Armenian Review, I, No. 2 (1948), 81.

[39] Kommunisticheskaia partiia sovetskogo soiuza, Tsentral'nyi komitet, Statisticheskii otdel, Sotsial'nyi i natsional'nyi sostav V.K.P.(b) [Social and National Composition of the All-Union Communist Party] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), p. 152.

nationalities from Russia was "not recommended."[40] Moreover, from mid-1919 to mid-1920 the rapprochement between Bolsheviks and Kemalist Turks became closer. The Bolsheviks were called "German agents" by their enemies in Russia; they were called "Turkish agents" by their enemies in Armenia.

When the Communist Party was outlawed in Georgia in February, 1918, a number of Armenian Communists took refuge in the Armenian Republic. Until the middle of 1919 these Communists had little contact with the central organs of the Party. They promised the Armenian Government that they would not carry on subversive work, and evidently kept their promise until the latter part of 1919. Furthermore, they actually were employed in various government jobs, in the cooperatives, and in the school system of the Republic.[41]

Communists became active in the Armenian Republic only after the Red Army began to press on Denikin. By the fall of 1919 it appeared that the Bolsheviks would win the Civil War in Russia. An Armenian Communist leader testifies:

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[40]Kazemzadeh, op. cit., p. 41.

[41]Vratzian, op. cit., p. 348.

> It would not be a mistake if we say that our bulwark and moral support was Soviet Russia, upon whose victorious strides we were attending as we gradually developed our program.[42]

Activity in Armenia was directed by the Kavkazskii Kraevoi Komitet (Caucasian Regional Committee) of the Russian Communist Party. Money and Party organizers came to Alexandropol from the north via secret roads across the Lori district, which was at the time a neutral zone between Georgia and Armenia.[43]

The Armenian Communists carried on some work among the peasants of the Alexandropol district, but their main activities were among the industrial workers' unions of Alexandropol. The Armenian Army was becoming demoralized in the winter of 1919-1920 on account of its material suffering and bad relations between its officers and men; but Communist influence in the Army was negligible until April, 1920.[44]

At this time the Communist Party of Armenia was an exceedingly amateurish organization. One of its leaders described a regular Party meeting in Alexandropol as follows:

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[42]Kommunisticheskaĭa partiĭa sovetskogo soĭuza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, Chetvert' veka borby za sotsializm [A Quarter Century of the Struggle for Socialism] (Tiflis, 1923), p. 218.

[43]Vratzian, op. cit., p. 349.

[44]Kommunisticheskaĭa partiĭa sovetskogo soĭuza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

> You should have seen our "conspiratorial" school! It was a big room, quite dirty, where around a little table with glimmering little lamps our committee met....The room recalled an episode from the movies taken from the life of the apaches, counterfeitors, and similar criminal elements.... It would be a mistake to say that the Dashnaks did not know the place of our meetings. We would err against the truth if we held that we were "very clever in conspiracies." Our illegal activity was a kind of joke, possible only in the territory of Dashnak rule....Often when a meeting was being summoned the Dashnaks saw us and even asked, "What, are you going to a meeting?"[45]

Throughout 1919 the Dashnaks were generally tolerant, and in some cases even friendly toward the Armenian Communists.[46]

It is the author's impression that the most active, if not the most effective Communists in Armenia at this time were youths in their late teens and early twenties. In September, 1919, there were eight or nine Spartak organizations (Communist youth organizations) in Armenia, with a total membership of about 350.[47] These organizations were directed by the Regional Spartak Committee in Tiflis, which had a regular liaison with the Kavkazskii Kraevoi Komitet.[48]

The first general Armenian Communist meeting was held secretly in Erivan in September, 1919. At this time the Armenian Committee (Armenkom) was chosen to direct local work. The meeting resolved to conduct propaganda against the Allies and to urge the Sovietization of Armenia.[49]

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[45] Ibid., p. 219. [46] Ibid., p. 216.

[47] S. Vardanian, Podpol'e [Underground] (Tiflis, 1926), p. 54.

[48] Ibid., p. 62. [49] Vratzian, op. cit., p. 354.

By the beginning of 1920 the Communist Party of Armenia had 600 members. It was still a rather passive party. Most of its members distrusted the revolutionary capacities of the Armenian peasantry, convinced that the Armenian peasants would not shoot a Dashnak "in case of necessity." Moreover, the Armenian Communists did not feel that it was necessary to prepare the masses for the seizure of power; they expected that when the Red Army arrived in Armenia, bringing "peace, bread, and manufactures," the Dashnaks would surrender without a fight.[50]

During the first part of 1920, Communist work in Transcaucasia was directed by two rival organizations. The first was the Kavkazskii Kraevoi Komitet in Tiflis, which was made up of old Bolsheviks who were inclined to stress the mass character and democratic aspects of Communism. In May 1920 it was dissolved. The second organization was the Kavkazskii Biûro (Kavbiuro), established in Baku in February, 1920. It was made up of young, aggressive Bolsheviks, such as Kirov and Ordzhonikidze, who emphasized the conspiratorial aspect of Communism and were close associates of Stalin. The Kavbiûro was created after Moscow lost hope that local Communists organizations in Transcaucasia were strong or skillful enough to seize power. Kavbiûro's aim was to prepare for the Communist

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[50]Borian, op. cit., II, 95.

seizure of Transcaucasia, and its activities were closely synchronized with those of the Red Army and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.[51] After the organization of Kavbiuro there was an influx of party workers, including many Russians, from Baku into Armenia.[52]

The Dashnaks now became alarmed about Communist activities. Toward the end of January, 1920, a number of Armenian Communists were arrested. But public opinion in Armenia was against the persecution of Bolsheviks, and the Dashnaks hesitated to arrest their "comrades of yesterday" and "fellow socialists." Communists leaders would be arrested, held in prison a few weeks, and then ordered into exile. The Communist leader, Khanoian, relates that Armenian Communists in prison were not badly treated, and that prison employees sought to ingratiate themselves with the Communist prisoners.[53]

The First Conference of Communist Organizations in Armenia was held secretly in Erivan in January, 1920. The Conference as a whole felt that even if power were seized in Armenia, it could not be held: a starving Soviet Armenia, surrounded by hostile Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Turkey, with only a small and weak Communist Party, could not last for long without the help of the Red Army.

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[51]Pipes, op. cit., pp. 219 and 224.

[52]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 2 (1948), 82.

[53]Vratzian, op. cit., pp. 219, 349, and 353.

Therefore it was resolved that an armed rising would be started in Armenia only if the Armenian Republic hindered the Sovietization of Azerbaijan or Georgia. However, a left-wing minority at the Conference, led by Avis Nourjanian of Alexandropol, urged an immediate revolt.[54]

In the spring of 1920 the Sovietization of Transcaucasia began. The Red Army invaded Azerbaijan, which capitulated on April 28.[55] On April 29 the new Soviet Azerbaijani government sent a telegram to Erivan demanding that Armenia withdraw its troops from Zangezur and Karabakh.[56] Red troops began to advance along the Kura River into Armenia and Georgia. But suddenly Moscow ordered the Red Army to withdraw, for the Russo-Polish War had broken out and Polish-Ukrainian troops were closing in on Kiev. On May 7 Soviet Russia recognized the independence of Georgia and in the same month it carried on negotiations with a delegation of the Armenian Republic in Moscow.[57]

After news of the Sovietization of Azerbaijan reached Armenia (April 29, 1920), the Communist May Day demonstrations in Alexandropol got out of hand and the garrison of the town unexpectedly revolted and went over to

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[54] Ibid., pp. 354-356.

[55] Pipes, op. cit., p. 227.

[56] S. Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 2 (1948), 87.

[57] Pipes, op. cit., p. 227.

the Communist side. The hotheaded Alexandropol Communists decided to proclaim a general rising, and when this rising began to spread to other towns, Armenkom could do nothing but try to lead it. Prompt and vigorous action by the Dashnaks and the failure of the Red Army to arrive led to the suppression of the rising by May 14. Armenkom reported to Kavbiuro:

> If the movement ended in a fiasco, the reason was the premature uprising in Alexandropol. It being impossible to organize the operations swiftly everywhere, or to coordinate the local operations, and due to the lack of railway communications in the various regions, we could neither obtain the necessary information nor coordinate the operations.[58]

It is interesting to note that the Turkish Armenian refugees were the main supporters of the Government in putting down the revolt, while the Tartar and Russian peasants in Armenia offered their support to the Communist rebels.[59]

The May rising had unfortunate consequences both for the Armenian Republic and for the Communist Party of Armenia. The rising disrupted agricultural work, which had just begun in the mountainous regions. It cut off the arrival of supplies by rail from outside Armenia. It caused a decline in the prestige of the Armenian Republic abroad.[60] Moreover, the Communist organizations in Armenia

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[58]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, no. 3 (1948), 65.

[59]Pipes, op. cit., p. 231 and Borian, op. cit., II, 104.

[60]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 3 (1948), 67.

were smashed. Two members of Armenkom were killed and most of the other Party leaders were forced to flee to Baku or Tiflis.[61]

When the First Congress of the Peoples of the East met in Baku in September, 1920, on the summons of the Comintern, 157 Armenian delegates attended.[62] The conference condemned the Armenian Republic and its claims to Karabakh and Zangezur.[63] After the outbreak of the Turco-Armenian War in late September, the Armenian Communists sent propaganda leaflets from Baku into Armenia, urging Armenian soldiers not to fight their Turkish "brothers."[64] Apparently the close surveillance of Kavbiûro over the Armenian Communists in Baku had strengthened party discipline among them.

A word should now be said about the careers of three Armenian Communists who became influential in the Soviet period. The most famous, of course, is Anastas

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[61]Kazemzadeh, op. cit., p. 286 and Shaginian, op. cit., p. 68.

[62]S"ezd narodov Vostoka, 1st, Baku, 1920, Pervyi s"ezd narodov Vostoka, Baku, 1-8 sent. 1920 g.; Stenograficheskii otchet [First Congress of Peoples of the East, Baku, Sept. 1-8, 1920; Stenographic Report] (Moscow, 1920), p. 5.

[63]Ibid., p. 149

[64]V. Navasartian, Polshevizme ev Tashnagtsoutiune [Bolshevism and the Dashnaktsutiun] (Cairo, 1949), p. 70.

Mikoyan, one of the most powerful men in the Soviet Union today. Mikoyan was born in 1895 in a village in Tiflis gubernia. He graduated from Nersesian College in Tiflis in 1915, and in the same year he joined the Bolsheviks. In July, 1915 he helped organize a Spartak cell in Tiflis and represented the Spartak of Transcaucasia at the first Bolshevik Congress in October, 1917.[65] During 1918 and 1919 he was one of the principal Communist leaders in Baku. In September, 1919 he went to Moscow, where he became one of Stalin's protegés. After joining the Red Army, he returned to Baku in April, 1920; seven months later he was one of the leaders of the Red Army which "sovietized" Armenia.[66]

Alexander Miasnikian (or Miasnikov), the first Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Armenia, was born in Russia proper and obtained a law degree at the University of Moscow. In 1906 he entered the R.S.D.L.P. at the age of twenty. In 1906-08 he worked in Baku; then he went to Moscow, where he became Secretary of the Party Committee there. During the Russian Civil War he was at one time Commander-in-Chief of the Western front. Lenin sent him to take over the government of Soviet Armenia in April, 1921.[67]

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[65]Vardanian, op. cit., pp. 35-37.

[66]H. Asdourian, Badmoutiun haiotz [History of the Armenians] (Buenos Aires, 1947), p. 476.

[67]Shaginian, op. cit., p. 296

Aghasi Khanchian, who was Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia from 1928 to 1936, was born in Van in Turkish Armenia, probably in the late 1890's. He came to Transcaucasia as a refugee after the retreat of the Russian Army from Eastern Anatolia.[68] Soon afterward he joined the Bolsheviks, and in 1919 he helped direct party work in Erivan.[69] Later, through his friendship with Kirov, he got Stalin's attention. In about 1928 Stalin had him appointed Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia, where he was still virtually unknown.[70]

Neither Mikoyan, Miasnikian, nor Khanchian were natives of Eastern Armenia. All three became active in the Party in their early twenties. All three owed their rise to the benevolence of the top leaders of the Russian Communist Party.

Returning now to the chronology of developments, it will be remembered that in May, 1920 Russia was conducting negotiations with the Armenian Republic in Moscow. After the May rising the Armenian Bolsheviks in Baku sent a delegation to Mowcow urging Russia to delay signing an agreement with Armenia and to transfer the negotiations to

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[68] A. Y. Yeghenian, The Red Flag at Ararat (New York, 1932), p. 111.

[69] Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 2 (1948), 82.

[70] K. Tzitzernak, "Aghasi Khanjian," Armenian Review, III, No. 2 (1950), 53.

Erivan.[71] In June, Kemalist Turkey accepted a Russian offer to mediate in the establishing of a border between Turkey and Armenia on the basis of national self-determination. The delegation of the Armenian Republic in Moscow also accepted the Russian offer.[72] In the same month the United States Senate rejected an American mandate over Armenia. The last British troops were evacuated from Transcaucasia in the summer of 1920. From this time on it was Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey, and not the Allies, who determined the fate of Armenia.

During the summer of 1920 Communist and Dashnak forces struggled in Kazakh (in northeastern Armenia), in Zangezur and Karabakh. In this struggle the Communists were victorious; on August 10 Armenia signed a temporary agreement in Tiflis with Legran, the Russian representative, according to which Zangezur, Karabakh and Nakhichevan were ceded to Soviet Azerbaijan.[73]

On August 10 the Allies signed the Treaty of Sevres, which provided that a large portion of Eastern Anatolia be ceded to Armenia. This may have influenced Turkey to attack the Armenian Republic in late September.[74] Turkish forces advanced rapidly, taking Kars on October 30.

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[71]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 3 (1948), 69.

[72]H. Terterian, "The Levon Chanth Mission to Moscow," Armenian Review, VIII, No. 2 (1955), 13.

[73]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 3)1948), 71.

[74]Ibid., p. 72.

Meanwhile, the Russian delegation headed by Legran arrived in Erivan on October 11 to continue negotiations with Armenia. A preliminary draft provided that Russia recognize the independence of Armenia; that Zangezur be immediately annexed to Armenia; that the fate of Karabakh and Nakhichevan be settled by arbitration; that Russia stop the Turks from advancing any further into Armenia; that Russian troops be given free passage across Armenia to Turkey; and that Russia mediate in the settlement of the Turko-Armenian boundary. Legran then went to Baku to get Moscow's approval of the draft.[75]

In Legran's absence Turkish troops advanced steadily toward Erivan. On November 9 Stalin telegraphed to Communist leaders in Baku the following message: "It is imperative at all costs to save Armenia; Armenia must be liberated as soon as possible."[76] The Red Army and the Armenian Communist Revolutionary Committee (Revkom) began to move from Azerbaijan southwest toward Erivan. According to Pipes,

> There are many indications that the Soviet entry was motivated by a desire to forestall the complete collapse of the Armenian Republic, and to prevent a Turkish occupation of Erivan. The Russian move was directed primarily against Kemal, whose victories had threatened to bring Turkish troops into the heart of Transcaucasia.[77]

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[75] Ibid., p. 71. [76] Asdourian, op. cit., p. 479.

[77] Pipes, op. cit., p. 232.

The Dashnaks, however, claim that the Russians incited Turkey to attack Armenia in the first place and were now joining Turkey in the final conquest.[78]

On November 23 Simon Vratzian became Premier of Armenia, and on the next day he dispatched a delegation headed by A. Khatissian to Alexandropol to negotiate with the Turks. On November 26 Russia ordered the Turks to halt their advance.[79]

By November 29 the Red Army, Revkom, and a volunteer regiment of Armenian peasants from the Kazakh district had reached Ichevan, in northeastern Armenia, where Revkom proclaimed the Sovietization of Armenia and assumed responsibility for the governing of the country. This development did not influence events in Erivan immediately. During November 30--December 1 an extraordinary meeting of thirty outstanding members of the government of the Republic and of the Dashnaktsutiun was held in Erivan to determine whether the Republic should take a pro-Turkish or pro-Russian orientation. A decision was made in favor of the latter, and on December 2 the government signed an agreement with Legran, who had returned to Erivan. In accordance with this agreement the Dashnak government

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[78]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 2 (1948), 79-80.

[79]L. Arpee, A History of Armenian Christianity (New York, 1946), p. 304.

resigned. Armenia was proclaimed an "Independent Socialist Republic," which was to be governed by a military-revolutionary committee of seven persons, including two "left" Dashnaks, until the convening of a congress of soviets of Armenia. The members of the Dashnaktsutiun and "other socialist parties" were not to be persecuted on account of their party membership. Pending the arrival of Revkom in Erivan, all power was handed over to General Dro.[80]

Meanwhile, Legran had urged the Armenian Republic to reject Turkish demands in Alexandropol. But Turkish troops were about 25 miles from Erivan already, and Vratzian feared that Russian help would not arrive in time to save thousands of Armenians from massacre. On December 1 Vratzian authorized Khatissian in Alexandropol to accept Turkish terms. The actual signing of the Treaty of Alexandropol did not take place until after midnight of the night of December 2-3, however. This was about sixteen hours after the Dashnak Government had resigned from power.[81]

Revkom arrived in Erivan on December 6. It completely disregarded the provisions of the agreement of December 2 between Legran and the Dashnak Government; leading Dashnaks were arrested; most of the officers of

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[80]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 4 (1948), 89-90.

[81]Ibid., p. 93.

the army of the Armenian Republic, including General Dro, were sent into exile in Russia. On December 10 Revkom declared the Treaty of Alexandropol null and void. All laws of Soviet Russia were declared to be in force in Armenia on December 21.[82]

Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that most of the Armenian Communists who ruled Armenia in the winter of 1920-1921 were irresponsible adventurers and inexperienced hotheads. The blunders they made antagonized all elements of the population. An eyewitness, Oliver Baldwin, reports:

> Lunch in the cold hall of the bleak Hotel Orient was quieter than usual and the hall filled up with members of the Armenian Communist Party, who all enjoyed themselves hugely, commandeering food and signing pieces of paper in payment, which the wretched proprietor took and wondered at. The average age of the Executive of this party was eighteen, and I personally knew one of sixteen years and two of eighteen. These were all armed with butted Mausers and were very fond of placing them on the tables during meal-times, which made them look very dreadful and wicked, which was exactly what they wanted.[83]

Many of the young Communists brought "painted, plastered young girls" with them, according to Vratzian.[84]

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[82]The members of Revkom were: S. Gasian, Chairman; A. Mravian, S. Ter Gabrielian, A. Nourichanian [Avis], A. Pegzatian, and I. Tovlatian. Pipes, op. cit., p. 223.

[83]Baldwin, op. cit., p. 41.

[84]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 4 (1948), 95.

Upon its arrival in December, Revkom began to confiscate property indiscriminately. The Red Army did the same. Little parties of armed men went about the towns and countryside requisitioning food, cattle, clothing and even beehives, stationery, musical instruments and barbering supplies.[85] These confiscations were carried on in an undisciplined and unsystematic fashion. All representatives of Revkom were authorized to collect "taxes."[86]

Revkom began to round up and imprison the leading Dashnaks in Armenia. Most of the officers of the Armenian Army were arrested, deported, or executed. The bodies of some of the executed officers were exposed to the public on the main street of Erivan.[87] About 1500 officers were sent marching into exile in the freezing cold of January.[88]

Local revkomy, theoretically subordinate to Revkom in Erivan, were organized in towns and villages. Communists began to settle old scores with their enemies.[89] Local

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[85]Borian, op. cit., II, 126.

[86]Ibid., p. 134.

[87]Hartill, op. cit., p. 266.

[88]Vratzian, loc. cit., I, No. 4 (1948), 94.

[89]Ibid., p. 95.

decisions had to be approved by Revkom, but there were many delays, misunderstandings, and confusions of jurisdiction. The local committees proceeded on their own to nationalize and confiscate "bourgeois" property. On December 28 Revkom legalized many of these acts by nationalizing all banks, land, forests, and waters of Armenia.[90]

Revkom's foreign policy did even less to win the confidence of the population. It failed to effect a withdrawal of Turkish troops from Alexandropol, Kars, and surrounding areas. It was soon discovered that there were no Communists among the Turks, who were massacring the population and devastating the countryside they occupied.[91] Many Armenians had thought that the Communists had come only to turn the Turks out of Armenia; such Armenians were sadly disillusioned.[92] A Dashnak eyewitness reports:

> Armenia was sovietized. It seemed the City of Erivan had been sprinkled over with ashes. Life had come to a standstill. The shops opened late, some of them only half opened, and closed early in the evening. Everyone scurried to his family hearth. Even ordinary men had begun to exercise a sort of reserved attitude toward what had happened; when they met each other on the street they merely nodded in acknowledgement and hurried on their way, avoiding any conversation.[93]

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[90]Borian, op. cit., II, 156-168, passim.

[91]Ibid., p. 135. [92]Baldwin, op. cit., p. 40.

[93]H. Kosoyan, "The First Taste of Soviet Rule in Armenia," Armenian Review, VI, No. 1 (1953), p. 70.

After Sovietization, Armenia was still cut off from the outside world. The Red Army brought no food and supplies for public distribution, but lived off the countryside. Winter made the road to Azerbaijan impassable. The Georgian blockade in the north made it impossible to bring in supplies by rail from Russia.[94]

The Dashnaks were understandably angered by the betrayal of their agreement with Legran, and rallied their forces in Zangezur. When the Communists heard of this, on the night of February 16-17 they executed fifty hostages held in the Erivan prison. This very night the Red Army moved north to attack Georgia. On February 18 the Dashnaks began an insurrection and retook Erivan. Revkom was forced to take refuge in an armored train near Davalu;[95] only Karakilis and Delijan remained in Communist hands.

At this critical moment the Russians and Turks were negotiating the Treaty of Moscow, which was signed on March 16. According to this treaty, Turkey was to retain all of eastern Anatolia it held prior to 1914, plus all territory south of the Arax and Akhurian Rivers; Nakhichevan was to become an autonomous territory under the protection of Azerbaijan; and Russia was to intervene with the

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[94]Borian, op. cit., II, 137.

[95]Asdourian, op. cit., p. 484.

Transcaucasian Republics so that they would accept these provisions.[96]

On March 18 the Georgian Government capitulated to the Red Army, which was now free for the reconquest of Armenia. On April 2 it retook Erivan, and by summer the Dashnaks were forced to evacuate all of Armenia. Asdourian estimates that about 20,000 Armenians lost their lives during this futile rebellion.[97] The Turkish forces did not withdraw from Armenian territory, as recognized in the Treaty of Moscow, until late in April.

On October 21 Armenia signed the Treaty of Kars, yielding to Turkey the territories designated in the Treaty of Moscow (March 16).[98] A treaty of military and economic union was signed between Armenia and Soviet Russia on September 30, 1921.[99] Zangezur was retained by Soviet Armenia, but Nakhichevan and Karabakh became autonomous regions within Soviet Azerbaijan. Thus, by 1921 Eastern Armenia was under Communist control, while Western Armenia was lost to Kemalist Turkey.

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[96]A. Poidebard, "Le Transcaucase et la République d'Arménie dans les textes diplomatiques du traité de Brest-Litovsk au traité de Kars, 1918-1921," Revue des études arméniennes, III, No. 3 (1923), pp. 75-77.

[97]Asdourian, op. cit., p. 485.

[98]Poidebard, loc. cit., p. 77.

[99]Borian, op. cit., II, 307-309.

After the February rebellion the central Communist authorities in Moscow replaced the staff of Revkom and forbade the entry of Avis Nourijanian and similar adventurers into Armenia. Lenin sent Alexander Miasnikian to take charge of the country in April with instructions to show moderation toward the peasants and petty bourgeoisie, to create no new cleavages, to trade with the West, and to start irrigation projects.[100] Borian concluded,

> Had it not been for not only the moral support, but the real cooperation, and then material help of Soviet Russia, the working masses of Armenia would not have been able to seize power, nor all the more to hold and strengthen it in the country.[101]

Effects of These Developments on Armenian Culture

During the period 1917-1921 all the basic institutions of Armenian society were disrupted. There were about 50,000 refugee orphans in Armenia, many of them wandering about the street.[102] Such children were neither fed nor clothed, much less indoctrinated in traditional Armenian values. An eyewitness says,

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[100] Vratzian, loc. cit., II, No. 1 (1949), 118-119.

[101] Borian, op. cit., II, 183.

[102] Ibid., p. 124.

> Wearing nothing but potato sacks, they lay on the snow of the pavements, whining and shaking like wounded stray dogs, day and night, continuously, until calmed by merciful death. They had wrinkled old faces, looked more like monkeys than human beings, and it was impossible to tell whether they were boys or girls. Nobody ever spoke to them.[103]

Some young Armenians joined the Communist movement. Even girls joined, "shapely, good-looking ones, wearing white sweaters and knitted wool caps."[104] Some families did everything in their power to prevent their children from joining the Party. When the son of a wealthy Baku family became a Communist, the head of the family disowned him, read a burial service for him, and ordered all members of the family never to speak to him again.[105]

As large-scale industries stopped functioning, young unemployed workers returned to the countryside and the artisan industries revived. Armenia again became almost completely agrarianized.[106] In the villages, the local peasantry had to make room for thousands of Turkish Armenian refugees. The lands of Tartar and Russian peasants who had fled were taken over by Armenian peasants,

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[103]Surmelian, op. cit., p. 235.

[104]Ibid.

[105]M. Elliot, Beginning Again at Ararat (New York, 1924), p. 253.

[106]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 102.

but working cattle and equipment was lacking to cultivate them. Poor peasants proceeded to seize the lands of the great landowners and to repartition communal lands equitably.[107]

The Armenian parochial schools were secularized and nationalized by the Dashnak Government in March, 1920.[108] Thus, the Armenian Church lost control of the Armenian school system before the Sovietization of Armenia. As teachers entered the Armenian Army, many schools ceased to function.[109]

The suffering and insecurity of most Armenians in the period 1917-1921 served to undermine traditional concepts and values and to prepare the way for Communist indoctrination. While the Armenian nationalists had the opportunity to spread their ideas among wide masses of the peasantry and youth during the days of the Armenian Republic, at the same time they had been unable to protect Armenia from the Turks. Many Armenians then began to pin their hopes on the power of Soviet Russia.

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[107] Shaginian, op. cit., p. 90.

[108] Vratzian, op. cit., p. 335.

[109] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, No. 1 (January, 1923), p. 167.

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET ARMENIA, 1921-1928

The life of a nation is a sea, and those who look at it from the shore cannot know its depths.

Armenian proverb

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET ARMENIA, 1921-1928

Sources of Change in Armenian Cultural Patterns

When the Communists came to power in Armenia, the patterns of Armenian culture had already undergone extensive transformation. The extended family was disappearing. The villages were trying to absorb thousands of semi-aliens, the Turkish Armenian refugees. The towns had assumed new importance as centers of political power. The Church had lost its exclusive leadership of national life, and new all-national secondary institutions had developed. The schools were secularized. The values of secularism and nationalism had been propagated in all strata of society by the Armenian nationalist intelligentsia. Moreover, the entire Armenian social order had been badly disrupted by the chos and suffering of the period 1917-1921.

The Communists brought to Armenia both the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and certain new institutions which had arisen in Russia during the revolutionary period. According to Communist theory, after power has been seized the new form of government to be established is the dictatorship of the proletariat. This form of government is not precisely a dictatorship, nor is it precisely <u>of the</u>

proletariat. It is not exactly a dictatorship, in the Western sense, because only a minority, the bourgeosie, are excluded from power. As applied in Russia, this form of government was not exactly a dictatorship of the proletariat, either. Russia was an industrially undeveloped country, in which the proletariat was a small minority. The premise of the Bolshevik Revolution was that the proletariat had seized power in an alliance (smychka) with the poor peasantry, who formed a majority in Russian society.

The functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in Communist theory, are (1) to organize the power of the state in order to suppress the bourgeosie; (2) to socialize the means of production and distribution and to prepare for the transition from Socialism to Communism; (3) to defend the workers' state by force against its external enemies; (4) to overcome cultural indifference or hostility toward Socialism and Communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a rule unrestricted by law and based on force.[1]

According to Marxist theory, the proletariat cannot seize power without the leadership of a political party. The purpose of the party is to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat and then to consolidate and expand it.

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[1] J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism (11th ed.; Moscow, 1947), p. 43.

Such is the task of the Bolshevik Party, later called the Communist Party, in Russia. This party is, in theory, the "vanguard" of the proletariat: it contains the most experienced, well-trained and devoted elements of the proletariat. The party will exist as long as there are classes, for the proletariat is continuously being replenished by inexperienced newcomers from other classes.[2]

Under the leadership of Lenin the Communist Party came to have the following characteristics: (1) It was highly centralized and controlled from above by iron discipline and frequent purges; (2) it was the exclusive leader of the proletariat, and hence of the entire country: no other parties were permitted; (3) It operated on two levels: on the one hand, it sought to establish contact with the masses by creating and participating in representative forms of government, trade unions, and other institutions; on the other hand, it sought to control every phase of political, economic, social, and cultural life by means of persuasion and coercion.

Communist theory was developed in a period of rising nationalist feeling. Marx had felt that as capitalism developed, national differences would tend to disappear. Lenin, however, realized that national differences would continue to exist even after the establishment of the

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[2]Ibid., p. 82.

dictatorship of the proletariat. There were over 150 different nationalities in the Russian Empire, and a number of them, such as the Armenians, had broken away from the Empire in the period 1917-1921. Until about 1919 the Bolsheviks proclaimed the right of national self-determination, including the right of secession from Russia. But nationalism, as such, was rejected: while nationalities were to enjoy equal rights, no specific national cause was promoted by the Bolsheviks as an end in itself. In October, 1913, Lenin said,

> To a struggle against any national oppression we say absolutely yes. To a struggle <u>for</u> any national development, <u>for</u> a "national culture" in general, we say absolutely no.[3]

National self-determination could never come before the interests of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the Russian Revolution the emphasis in Communist theory and practise was on <u>uniting</u> the various national groups that had seceded from the Russian Empire, on the grounds that these groups and Soviet Russia had mutual economic, diplomatic and military interests in the face of capitalist encirclement. Also, the emphasis was now not so much on the liberation of oppressed nationalities as the equalizing of national groups within the socialist order. This equalizing meant not only the establishing of equal rights (including the use of the native language in government

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[3]V. Lenin, <u>Sochineniia</u> (3rd ed.), XVII, 146.

and schools), but also the industrial and cultural development of all nationalities in the Soviet Union. The aim of this policy was to "level upward," to bring "backward peoples" into the common stream of a "higher" culture.[4]

According to Marxist theory, the dictatorship of the proletariat is to establish a socialist order in which (1) the basic means of production are monopolized by the workers' state to be used for the benefit of all; and (2) each worker is to be rewarded according to the value of his labor in terms of social usefulness. After production has been raised to a sufficiently high level, and each member of society is contributing the full measure of his ability to social welfare, Socialism will be replaced by Communism, in which each contributes according to his ability and is paid according to his needs.

The Marxist-Leninist social theory holds that the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to abolish all class differences based upon the exploitation of one class by another as well as all class privileges. But as long as classes exist, the proletariat and poor peasantry are to be given numerous privileges while the bourgeoisie, landowners, and other "reactionary elements" are to be deprived of civil rights until they are no longer a

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[4]J. Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, (2nd ed.; London, 1936), pp. 78-136, passim.

"dangerous" element in society. Men and women are to enjoy equal rights to participate in government, to receive an education, to own property, to obtain divorce, and to hold jobs for which they are qualified.

The purpose of education, in Marxist-Leninist theory, is to promote the dictatorship of proletariat and the socialist order and to prepare the way for Communism. Education should be free and compulsory and should be available to all children without discrimination as to race, sex, or religion. Instruction should be linked with socially productive labor; children should learn by doing. Instruction should be in the native language of the child. The schools should form a unified system completely free of clerical control.

Marxists-Leninists hold that religion is a phantastic reflection in men's minds of the external forces which control their daily life. In the past, exploiters have used religion to facilitate their control of the masses. In the socialist order, religion will die out as man achieves mastery over his own destiny.[5]

Such was the ideology of the Communists who came to rule Armenia. They also brought with them certain instruments of control and persuasion. These included the army, the

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[5]F. Engels, Anti-Duhring (New York, 1939), p. 344.

police, the Communist Party, and the Soviet form of government.

The soviets (councils) formed a pyramid, at the base of which were the town, factory, and village soviets. Only the proletariat, the peasantry, and members of the Red military forces could participate in the soviets, which operated at least in theory, according to democratic principles. The executive functions of government were performed by persons chosen by the soviets, while judicial functions were performed by the soviets themselves or by persons chosen by the soviet executive officers. But in practise, the Communist Party exercised the real power in the country, and to an increasing degree it manipulated the soviets for its own ends. In every phase of public life the members of the Communist Party constituted an elite, the functions of which were to control and to persuade the masses to follow the party line. The army and police were primarily coercive agencies of the Party. A number of Party-controlled public organizations were also established to develop mass support of the Party's policies. These included the youth organizations (Komsomol, Pioneers, and Octobrists), labor unions, cooperative societies, and meetings of women's delegates. The characteristics of these institutions in Soviet Armenia will be discussed below.

In summary, the sources of change in the patterns of traditional Armenian culture during the Soviet period were (1) the heritage of developments since the latter part of the nineteenth century; (2) the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as developed in Soviet Russia; and (3) the new Soviet institutions controlled by the Communist Party. In the following section certain significant political developments in Soviet Armenia during the period 1921-1928 will be considered.

Political Developments

After the Communist regime was established in Armenia it faced four principal political problems. First of all, it had to establish order in a country grown accustomed to chaos. Second, it had to redirect Armenian nationalist feeling toward Communist goals. Third, it had to insure the dominance of classes sympathetic to the new regime. Fourth, it had to develop a larger mass following, especially in the villages. In handling these problems the Communists took into consideration the fact that Armenia was somewhat distinct from other parts of Soviet Asia. At the Tenth Party Congress (March, 1921) Mikoyan stated, "Armenia is less like the East in this sense, that it is more cultured than many eastern countries." It was recognized that a bourgeois class already existed in Armenia, and in a resolution of the Congress it was stated, "Armenia has more or less passed

through the period of industrial capitalism."[6] While it is questionable that Armenia as a whole had a significantly large bourgeois class or had passed through a "stage" of industrial capitalism, it is nevertheless true that many Armenians had developed a secular outlook. With such Armenians the Communists found communication easier than with Armenians of purely traditional outlook.

In choosing methods for carrying out Communist policies in Armenia, Lenin urged that the local Communist should not copy the letter of the experiment in Soviet Russia of 1917-1921, but instead profit from the lessons of the experiment. He urged that greater tolerance, caution, and moderation be exercised toward the intellectuals, bourgeosie, and especially the peasantry of Armenia.[7] In December, 1922, Lenin wrote:

> Nothing delays so much the development and consolidation of the proletarian class solidarity as national injustice, and offended nations are of all things most sensitive to the emotion of equality and to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades.[8]

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[6]B. A. Borian, Armeniia. mezhdunarodnaia diplomatiia i SSSR [Armenia; International Diplomacy and the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, 1928-1929), II, 174.

[7]S. Vratzian, "How Armenia Was Sovietized," Armenian Review, II, No. 1 (1949), 118-119.

[8]R. E. Pipes, The Formation of the Soviet Union (Cambridge, 1954), p. 276.

Lenin's views were influential in the governing of Soviet Armenia in the period 1921-1928; but they were increasingly disregarded as Stalin consolidated his power in the middle and late twenties. Stalin was generally less considerate of nationalist feeling and the nationalist intelligentsia.

In order to carry out their policies, the Communists established complete military control over Armenia. The Red military units established in Armenia were stiffened with Russian officers.[9] An extensive police system was also organized. The purposes of this system from the beginning of its establishment were stated as follows by a chief of the police in Armenia in the early thirties:

> The Gay-Pay-Oo is the vigilant guard of the Soviet State....We are surrounded by enemies and hence we have greater reasons for being strict and circumspect....We are concerned solely with political crimes and sometimes economic-political crimes. Our purpose is not punitive only; it is also aimed at reform.[10]

The prisons of Soviet Armenia were called "Houses of Correction." These prisons operated on the principle that the criminal should be re-educated in order that he may return to society as a good citizen. Workshops and farms

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[9]H. Buxton, Trans-Caucasia (London, 1926), p. 86.

[10]A. Y. Yeghenian, The Red Flag at Ararat (New York, 1932), p. 116.

were attached to all prisons and cultural-educational courses were given for the "re-education" of prisoners. Political prisoners were kept in separate facilities.[11]

One of the principal methods for developing mass support in Armenia was the policy of korenizatsiia, or "rooting." This meant the staffing of the government of Soviet Armenia with Armenians; the use of the Armenian language in administration and in government schools; the development of the Communist Party of Armenia; and the adaptation of political methods of local conditions in Armenia.[12] Such a policy served to channel nationalist feeling toward Soviet goals.

Some Armenian nationalists, however, remained beyond the Soviet pale. In May, 1923, all persons who had willingly served in armies who had fought against the Communists in Transcaucasia or who had participated in any form in "counter-revolutionary" organizations were deprived of civil rights.[13]

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[11]Armenia (S.S.R.), Gendronagan kordzatir gomidei, Hayasdani sotsialisdagan khorhrtayin hanrabedoutian zhoghovrtagan gomisariadneri 1920-1922 t.t. hashveddyoutyoune [Report for 1920-1922 of the People's Commissariats of the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic] (Erivan, 1923), p. 23. Hereafter cited as SA Coms, 1920-1922.

[12]J. Towster, Political Power in the USSR, 1917-47 (New York, 1948), pp. 75-77.

[13]Transcaucasia (S.F.S.R.), Sistematicheskoe sobranie zakonov ZSFSR, deistvuiushchikh na 1 maia 1929 g. [Sistematic Collection of Laws of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. Operative on May 1, 1929] (Tiflis, 1929), p. 192. Hereafter cited as Transcaucasia, Laws.

The public careers of persons closely associated with the Dashnaktsutiun were thus terminated or handicapped. Many Dashnaks renounced their former affiliation. The representatives of over 3,000 Dashnaks met in Erivan, under the supervision of the Soviet secret police, in November, 1923, and formally abolished the Dashnaktsutiun in Soviet Armenia.[14]

According to the 1922 Constitution of Soviet Armenia (as amended up to 1926) the following persons were forbidden to vote and to hold public office: (1) those exploiting hired labor for profit; (2) those living on unearned income, such as interest on capital, revenues from private enterprises, rent on land; (3) merchants engaged in private commerce; (4) those who were clergymen by occupation; (5) former police officials and agents and khumpabedner (leaders of Dashnak armed bands).[15] In this way "anti-Soviet" social elements were excluded from the political life of Armenia.

The Communist regime in Armenia operated on the premise that government cannot rest solely on force. Therefore it established a vast network of mass persuasion media. All publications were put under strict Party control. The

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[14]V. Navasartian, Polshevizme ev Tashnagtsutiune [Bolshevism and the Dashnaktsutiun] (Cairo, 1949), p. 5.

[15]Armenia (S.S.R.), Gendronagan kordzatir gomidei ev zhoghovrtagan gomisariadneri khorhourt, Khorhrtayin Hayasdan, hink dari, 1920-1925 [Soviet Armenia, Five Years, 1920-1925] (Erivan, 1926), p. 454, Art. 86. Hereafter material from the Constitution will be cited by article only.

presses began to turn out a vast quantity of newspapers and magazines in the Armenian language which sought to popularize Soviet ideology, policy and practise. Wall newspapers were published at least once a week in the larger villages.[16] Several hundred "mass correspondents" were appointed to report local incidents, especially irregularities and abuses on the part of village soviets and officials.[17] There were 448 book titles in the Armenian language published in 1927, with a combined circulation of over one million copies.[18] Toward the end of the twenties a radio station and a movie studio were organized in Erivan. The movie studio, Armenkino, founded in 1924, had produced four art films by 1928 and a total of 154 agitational-propaganda films and newsreels by 1934.[19]

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[16]Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîûza, Zakavkazskii s"ezd kommunisticheskikh organizatsii, 1st, Tiflis, 1922, Pervyi Zakavkazskii s"ezd kommunisticheskikh organizatsii; Stenograficheskii otchet [First Transcaucasian Congress of Communist Organizations; Stenographic Report] (Tiflis, 1922), p. 283. Hereafter cited as Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922.

[17]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 85.

[18]Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniîû natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politka V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh [National Policy of the All-Union Communist Party in Figures] (Moscow, 1930), p. 300.

[19]Armenia, (S.S.R.), Sovet narodnykh komissarov, Materialy k otchetu pravitel'stva SSR Armenii (1929-34) k VIII s'ezdu sovetov [Materials for a Report of the Government of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia (1929-34) to the Eighth Congress of Soviets] (Erivan, 1935), p. 112. Hereafter cited as SA Materialy, 1929-34.

In addition to the mass media of communication the Communist regime relied extensively on face to face oral agitation in small groups. This work was directed by the Agit-prop Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.[20] The agitator brought news, gave pep talks, and siphoned off hostility toward the Communist regime.[21] His role was especially important during the twenties because of widespread illiteracy and the unavailability of movies and radios in many rural areas.

The Structure of Soviet Government in Armenia

Armenia was governed without a constitution for about a year. During this period the country was reorganized into new territorial subdivisions. At the bottom of the territorial administrative pyramid were thirty-three districts (kavarag, or uchastok), which were distributed among eight counties (kavar, or uezd) in the summer of 1921. The towns of Erivan, Alexandropol (renamed Leninakan) and Nor Bayazet were administered separately.[22] Later the number of counties was increased to nine.[23]

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[20] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei (Moscow), July 31, 1922, p. 12.

[21] A. Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia (Cambridge, 1950), p. 123.

[22] SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 8-9.

[23] M. S. Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e [Soviet Transcaucasia] (Erivan, 1946), p. 15.

From December 1, 1920 to February 2, 1922 Revkom directed the internal government of Armenia through the Commissariat of Internal Affairs (N.K.V.D.). The N.K.V.D. had the functions of organizing local government, centralizing all government apparatus, and supervising all local administration. County and district revkomy were organized; until the adoption of the constitution these bodies operated under temporary regulations established June 20, 1921.[24] Soviets were formed in various villages and in Erivan and Leninakan during 1921, but it is probable that most of these soviets were not organized on local initiative. An official government report candidly admitted that the chairmen of village soviets did not have any idea as to what were their functions or as to what were the functions of village soviets.[25] There were 856 village soviets in Armenia by 1922.[26] In late October it was reported that the Party and Soviet apparatus were functioning "normally" on the basis of the skill of their "older colleagues."[27]

The First Congress of Soviets of Armenia convened on January 30, 1922 and adopted the Constitution of the

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[24] SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 5, 6 and 7.

[25] Ibid., p. 11.

[26] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[27] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, No. 1 (January, 1923), p. 161.

the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia on February 2. In general this Constitution was modeled along the lines of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic adopted in July, 1918. According to the preamble to Armenian Constitution, (as amended up to 1926),

> By the will of the revolutionary workers and laboring peasants of Armenia, on November 29, 1920 Armenia was declared a Socialist Soviet Republic. (Art. 1).

It was declared that all power in Armenia belonged to the Soviets or workers', peasants' and Red Army deputies. The mission of the new "class dictatorship of workers and laboring peasants" was defined as the abolition of the capitalist order and the realization of Socialism. Eventually all classes were to be abolished as well as all government based on class rule. (Art. 13)

All pre-Soviet laws and courts were declared abolished. Socialist legal theory and "the revolutionary conscience" were recognized as the source of worker-peasant rights. The people's court, based upon class organizations of the working masses, was established as the basis for the judicial system; however, it was recognized that "extra-ordinary judicial procedures" were also indispensable to protect the interests of the revolution. (Art. 12)

The equality of all working people in Armenia, without respect to nationality or creed, was expressly recognized. (Art. 2) The working classes were given the

rights of full freedom of speech, press, assembly and of forming organizations; all material means to exercise these rights were put at their disposal. Complete, free education was guaranteed to the working classes. (Art. 6) The "exploiting" classes, however, were deprived of their civil rights. (Art. 5)

The Constitution declared the worker to be the creator of all values, and work to be obligatory for all citizens. (Art. 3) Private ownership of land, waters, forests, and sub-soil resources was abolished. The movable and immovable property of landlords and religious establishments was expropriated and turned over to the working people. Railroads, banks and in general all means of large-scale production were expropriated and nationalized. The exact sphere of private enterprise was left to be defined by ad hoc legislation. (Art. 4)

The Church was separated from the State, and the schools were separated from the Church. All citizens were given the right to freely conduct religious and anti-religious propaganda. The school, however, became "an organ of socialist instruction." It was specifically provided that productive labor was to be used as a means of education. (Art. 6)

Foreign workers living in Soviet Armenia were given the right of citizenship, and asylum was granted to all

foreigners subject to political and religious persecution. (Art. 7) All international treaties concluded by former governments of Armenia were declared annulled, aggression and secret diplomacy were repudiated. (Art. 10) The Constitution also provided for the organization of the Red Army of Soviet Armenia and declared military service obligatory for all working elements in Armenia. "Non-working elements" were not allowed to bear arms. (Art. 11)

The Constitution provided that the supreme body of sovereignty in Soviet Armenia was the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, and, in periods intervening between Congresses, the supreme body was the Central Executive Committee of Armenia. (Art. 23) The jurisdiction of these bodies included: (1) the general direction of internal policy in Armenia; (2) the drawing up of a general economic program for Armenia; (3) the realization in Armenia of the economic principles and program designated by the sovereign bodies of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the U.S.S.R.; (4) the establishing of a budget for Armenia; (5) the levying of taxes according to Union and Transcaucasian legislation; (6) the establishment of civil and criminal legislation and of judicial bodies in Armenia; (7) the prescribing of legislation regulating the utilization of land and other resources of Armenia, in accordance with the general

principles of the Union and of the Transcaucasian Federation; (8) the designation of the principles and general program of education and health in Armenia; and (9) the fulfillment of the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship. (Art. 21).

A number of functions remained outside the jurisdiction of the government of Soviet Armenia. Together with Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia became a constituent member of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in December, 1922.[28] The Constitution of the Federation provided that the supreme bodies of the Federation had the powers of establishing the general economic plan and budget; regulating internal commerce; establishing the principles of utilization of land and other natural resources; and establishing the principles of law, judicial organization, education, health protection and labor regulations in Transcaucasia.[29]

Soviet Armenia, as a constituent member of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R., formally joined the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on December 30, 1922.[30] According to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (ratified in January, 1924), the following government functions were reserved exclusively for Union jurisdiction: (1) the conduct of

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[28]Pipes, op. cit., p. 254.

[29]Transcaucasia, Laws, pp. 1-10.

[30]Pipes, op. cit., p. 267.

foreign relations; (2) the conduct of foreign trade; (3) the defense of the Union; (4) the insuring of "state security"; (5) the establishment of the Union budget and economic plan; (6) the administration of transport, communication, and economic enterprises under Union control; (7) the establishment of law codes, legal procedures, and judicial organization for the Union; and (8) the establishment of the basic principles of utilization of land and other natural resources, of education, of public health, and of labor legislation (Part II, Ch. 1, Art. 1). The Supreme organs of the U.S.S.R. could annul any law or decree of the government of Soviet Armenia. The representatives of the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R. functioned in Armenia independently of the Armenian government.[31]

After the formation of the Soviet Union, the government of Armenia included the following commissariats: Agriculture, Internal Affairs, Justice, Education, Public Health, Social Insurance, Labor, Finance, Worker-Peasant Inspection, the Council of People's Economy, as well as the Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) of Armenia and a representative of the Commissariat of Internal Commerce of Transcaucasia who met with the heads of the Armenian

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[31]Towster, op. cit., p. 84.

Commissariats (Constitution of Soviet Armenia, as amended up to 1926, Art. 53). Only the first six commissariats named were under the exclusive jurisdiction of Armenia. The Commissariats of Labor, Finance, Worker-Peasant Inspection, and the Council of People's Economy were subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of Armenia and to the Council of People's Commissars of the Transcaucasian Federation. (Art. 61).

The internal government of Armenia was formed in the following manner: (1) The Congress of Soviets of Armenia was elected on the basis of one deputy per 500 urban electors and one deputy per 3,000 rural inhabitants. These deputies were elected by the town soviets and the county (kayar) congresses of soviets, respectively (Art. 24). (2) The Congress of Soviets elected a Central Executive Committee of ninety members, which met at least once a year and which was responsible for the government of Armenia until the meeting of the next Congress of Soviets (Arts. 25 and 28). (3) The Central Executive Committee elected a Presidium of eleven members, which met at least three times a year (Arts. 35 and 39); the Presidium was then responsible for the government of the country until the next meeting of the Central Executive Committee (Art. 42). (4) The Presidium, with the approval of the Central Executive Committee, appointed the Council of People's Commissars, composed of a chairman, vice-chairman and several members (Arts. 48 and 53). The immediate

direction of government was handled by the commissariats (Art. 60). Each commissariat was administered by a commissar and a collegium designated by the Council of People's Commissars (Art. 64).

Local government in Armenia was formed in a similar way. The representatives of all town and village soviets in a district (kavarag) elected a district congress; the representatives of all soviets in a county (kavar) elected a county congress (Arts. 67-68). Each local congress of soviets elected an executive committee (Art. 71); and each executive committee in turn elected a presidium (Art. 73). The towns were administrated by special executive bodies chosen by the respective town soviets (Art. 78). All villages with a population of 300 persons or more had a soviet, constituted on the basis of one deputy per fifty inhabitants (Art. 77). The tasks of local government, within the given territorial unit, were (1) the development of local economy and culture; (2) the establishment and supervision of local budgets; (3) the execution of the decisions of the central government; (4) the integration of the activities of individual soviets (in the case of county and district organs); (5) the defense of the state; and (6) the solution of local problems (Art. 82).

All citizens, with the exceptions mentioned above, had the right to vote after reaching the age of eighteen (Art. 85).

There was one interesting difference between the Constitution of Armenia and that of the R.S.F.S.R. The Armenian Constitution referred to the "dictatorship of workers and laboring peasants," (Art. 13) while the Russian Constitution referred to the "dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry."[32] As the Soviet writer, Borian, pointed out, it was difficult to distinguish workers and peasants in agrarian Armenia; the Armenian government was thus "a national government, not a class government under the political hegemony of the workers." Borian stated that the whole Armenian people had suffered together and had a "national" point of view.[33]

The Civil Law Code of Soviet Armenia adopted in December, 1923, was a mere translation into Armenian of the Code of the R.S.F.S.R.[34] The forms of administration and methods of the government organs of Soviet Armenia were taken wholly from the experience and practise of such organs in the R.S.F.S.R.[35]

During 1922-1923 an effort was made to reform the police force of Soviet Armenia. About one-fifth of the

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[32]Borian, op. cit., II, 166.

[33]Ibid., p. 167.

[34]V. Gsovski, Soviet Civil Law (Ann Arbor, 1948), II, 5.

[35]Borian, op. cit., II, 188.

members of the police force were judged "anti-soviet" and purged. Policemen were sent to school and the level of literacy in police ranks was raised to 85%. A political secretariat of the police force was established early in 1923, but it did not function normally for some time because its heads were replaced every two months or so. Policemen wore no uniforms until May, 1922. In many places discipline was lax and a military spirit was lacking. Policemen received little or no pay.[36] Efforts were made to remedy this situation but by 1928 policemen were still receiving insignificant pay and working ten to twelve hours a day. At that time there was only about one policeman per 1,000 inhabitants in Soviet Armenia.[37]

The People's Courts of Armenia tried about 90% of all court cases, both civil and criminal.[38] These courts were made up of judges and jurors chosen from among workers and peasants by county executive committees. In 1927 there were forty such courts in Armenia. After September, 1927, minor civil cases were handled by court sections appointed by village soviets. The Supreme Court, chosen by the central

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[36] SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 19-21.

[37] H. Hagopian, Khorhrtayin Hayasdan [Soviet Armenia] (Paris, 1929), p. 194.

[38] F. A. Ross et al., The Near East and American Philanthropy (New York, 1929), p. 40.

Presidium, was the highest court of appeals in Armenia.[39] Its members had to have higher political and judicial qualifications than those of the lower courts.[40] According to H. Hagopian, the courts were especially severe with wrongdoers who belonged to the Party.[41]

The Commissariat of Justice of Armenia directed all judicial bodies and the Attorney General's office as well. The latter office maintained liaison with the secret police and the Commission of Worker-Peasant Inspection. It received complaints from worker and peasant correspondents, undertook criminal prosecution when necessary, and sent representatives to the meetings of the presidia of the county executive committees.[42]

The Government of Soviet Armenia in Operation

In the early twenties the government of Soviet Armenia evidently did not run smoothly. It was reported that the links between the central government and the counties, and between the counties and the districts, were exceedingly weak. Many county executive committees met

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[39]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 190.

[40]Ross, op. cit., p. 40.

[41]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 193.

[42]Ibid.

irregularly and casually.[43] There were frequent conflicts between police and civil authorities in the counties.[44] The central government received written reports from the more remote counties, such as Zangezur, only every two to four months. The government simply lacked the financial means to check up on whether its orders were being carried out in the countryside. Only 130 of the 1,230 employees of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs were engaged in local administration in 1923. Governmental operation was further slowed down by frequent changes in personnel and administrative organization.[45] Trained clerical personnel and office equipment were lacking; the work of various administrative departments overlapped and was poorly coordinated.[46]

Nevertheless, inter-nationality strife and banditism began to disappear from the countryside, for the government jailed bandits of all nationalities. As word spread that

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[43] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 12.

[44] Ibid., p. 16.

[45] Armenia (S.S.R.), Gendronagan kordzatir gomidei, Hayasdani sotsialisdagan khorhrtayin hanrabedoutian zhoghoyrtagan gomisariadneri 1922-23 t.t. Hashvedvoutyoune [Report for 1922-1923 of the People's Commissariats of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia] (Erivan, 1925), pp. 201-202. Hereafter cited as SA Coms, 1922-1923.

[46] Ross, op. cit., p. 38.

peace existed between Armenians and Tartars, inter-village trade began.[47] Robbers disappeared from country roads. Corrupt local officials were arrested.[48] An American observer summarized the situation as follows:

> It was a bad government, inefficient, here and there corrupt; a government that imprisoned without trial hundreds of men, and executed no one knows how many. It was a government that did not know how to govern, but that nevertheless, somehow, desperately and badly, did govern.[49]

The government of Soviet Armenia was clumsy and inefficient in the early twenties, but many of the individual members of the government were undoubtedly idealistic and intelligent. An English observer reported:

> Individually the members of the Government at Erivan are serious, intelligent, and hard-working men; it was a common sight to see these Commissars sitting in cold, fireless rooms with their overcoats on, while the available fuel was reserved for heating the larger rooms of their staffs.[50]

An American observer reported that the President of the State Economic Council of the Alexandropol district was working ten to fourteen hours a day in the fall of 1922 for the equivalent of $8.00 a month.[51]

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[47] M. Elliot, Beginning Again at Ararat (New York, 1924), pp. 336-337.

[48] Ibid., pp. 227-228. [49] Ibid., p. 339.

[50] Buxton, op. cit., p. 55.

[51] Elliot, op. cit., p. 207.

The Composition of the Staff of the Government of Soviet Armenia

The composition of the government staff in 1929 as to nationality, party affiliation, social status, education and experience is presented in Table 1. Of the total staff of the central, county, and district apparatus, 60.9% had received at least an incomplete secondary education; further, 48.4% were of white collar or intelligentsia origin. It should be noted that of the total population of Armenia, about 90% were peasants and only 40% were even literate at this time (1929).

Armenians accounted for 94.9% of the total staff of the government in 1929, a time when only 85% of the total population was Armenian. There can be no doubt that the policy of korenizatsiia had been implemented in Armenia.

Members and candidates of the Communist Party and of the Communist Youth Union (Komsomol) accounted for one-third of the total staff of the government. About this time there was only one Communist per hundred persons and two Komsomol members per one hundred persons in Soviet Armenia. The Communists and Komsomol members in the government were the most influential element, of course, and top positions were monopolized by Party members.

When a separate breakdown is made of the staffs of the central, county, and district government of Armenia, one finds that there were proportionally more Communists and

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF THE STAFF OF THE CENTRAL, COUNTY, AND DISTRICT ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT OF SOVIET ARMENIA IN 1929*

Ethnic Composition	Total Staff	Party Affiliation			Social Status								
					Self-supporting				Not Self-supporting				
		Communists	Komsomol members	Non-Party	Workers	Clerks and Intelligentsia	Peasants	Others	Workers	Clerks and Intelligentsia	Peasants	Others, including Bourgeiosie	Unknown
TOTAL	1,934	496	145	1,293	192	755	280	32	69	181	239	134	52
Of this, Armenians	1,836 (94.9%)	472	142	1,222	185	699	265	31	68	172	234	132	50

Ethnic Composition	Education											Experience			Mastery of Armenian		
	Higher						Secondary		Lower	Home and self-taught	Unknown	Former rabochie	Rabochie	Non-rabochie with Pre-revolutionary Experience	Yes	No	Unknown
	Completed before 1918	Completed in 1918-1925	Completed in 1926	Unknown year of graduation	Incomplete	Current Student	Complete	Incomplete									
TOTAL	126	54	86	23	130	62	439	269	496	221	28	31	130	218	1,815	93	26
Of this, Armenians	113	51	81	20	123	61	412	263	478	209	25	30	125	192	1,771	40	25

*Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniîu Natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), pp. 244-245.

proportionally more peasants in the lower organs. In the central organs, 27.8% of the staff belonged to the Party or the Komsomol; in the county organs, 39.5%; in the district organs, 43.7%. This may be explained by the fact that the Party recruited its rank and file largely from the illiterate "toiling masses," while the educated persons required to perform complex governmental functions had to be selected from the former bourgeois intelligentsia. Persons of peasant origin accounted for 59.3% of the staff of district organs, 33.7% of the staff of county organs, and only 13.3% of the staff of the central organs.[52]

The composition of the membership of village and town soviets in Armenia is given in Table 2. In these lowest organs of government the representation of Armenians was more directly proportional to their representation in the total population of the country. The representation of women in the local soviets increased during the twenties, but in 1929 it averaged only 17% in the towns and 14.7% in the villages. A majority of the members of town soviets were members or candidates of the Party and the Komsomol, but Communists never accounted for more than one-fifth of the members of village soviets. This is in direct contrast to the high proportion of Communists in the lower administrative organs. It is also curious that the proportion of industrial

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[52]Kom. akad. stat., pp. 244-245.

TABLE 2

COMPOSITION OF VILLAGE AND TOWN SOVIETS OF ARMENIA, 1924-1929

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1929
A. Total membership of village soviets	6,979/a	13,776	18,252	15,279	16,812
Of this,					
a. Armenians	....[b]	83.4%	86.8%	83.2%	83.2%
b. Women	2.8%	6.6%	6.4%	9.6%	14.7%
c. Members and candidates of the Communist Party of Armenia	.....	13.2%	13.3%	19.1%	18.6%
d. Members and candidates of the Komsomol	.....	9.1%	5.7%	11.3%	14.7%
e. Farmhands (batraki)	.....	.....	.....	6.6%/c	13.8%/c
B. Total membership of town soviets	.....	559	579	797	919
Of this,					
a. Armenians	.....	.....	.....	93.0%/d	90.2%/d
b. Women	.....	10.0%	10.2%	10.5%	17.0%
c. Members and candidates of the Communist Party of Armenia	.....	56.7%	53.2%	50.8%	49.2%
d. Members and candidates of the Komsomol	.....	3.6%	3.8%	9.8%	9.2%
e. Industrial workers (rabochie)	.....	30.2%	36.4%	40.5%	37.2%

a. The source of data in this table, unless indicated otherwise, is Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozîâistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1935), p. 239.

b. No data available, henceforth indicated by a .....

c. S. Kotlîarevskii, "Desîât let Sovetskoi Armenii," Sovetskoe Stroitel'stvo, No. 12 (1930), p. 111.

d. Kommunisticheskaîâ akademiîâ, Moscow, Komissiîâ po izucheniîû natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîâ politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), pp. 210-211.

workers in town soviets in Armenia was only 37.2% in 1929, while the proportion for the Soviet Union as a whole was 54%.[53] This phenomenon is probably a reflection of the relative lag in the industrialization of Armenia.

Moving from the local soviets to the district and county levels of authority, one finds that the proportion of peasants in the representative organs of government steadily decreased. Peasants accounted for 73.3% of all delegates to district congresses of soviets, 48.3% of all members of district executive committees, 41.2% of all delegates to county congresses, and only 28.1% of all members of county executive committees in 1927. In contrast, the proportion of salaried workers (clerks and intelligentsia) was 20% in district congresses, 43% in district executive committees, 39% in county congresses, and 56.6% in county executive committees in 1927. It should be kept in mind that the districts and counties of Armenia were overwhelmingly rural in character.[54]

Further, the proportion of Communists in represen-

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[53]Towster, op. cit., p. 316.

[54]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Ten Years of Soviet Power in Figures, 1917-1927 (Moscow, 1927), pp. 10-13.

tative organs increased as one proceeded up the government hierarchy; members and candidates of the Komsomol and Communist Party accounted for 57.4% of the presidents of rural soviets, 53.3% of delegates to district congresses, 62.6% of members of district executive committees, and 65.9% of delegates to county congresses in 1927.[55] At this time members and candidates of the Komsomol and Communist Party accounted for no more than 3% of the total population of Armenia. It may be concluded that the membership of organs of local government was dominated by Communists, and that the membership of district and county organs was dominated by non-peasant elements. Local government in Armenia was therefore dominated by persons who constituted a social and a political minority.

The proportion of peasants in the Congresses of Soviets of Armenia declined during the twenties, while the proportion of intellectuals and white collar workers increased. At the First Congress in 1922 peasants constituted 60%, and salaried workers, 10% of the deputies. At the Fourth Congress in 1925

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[55] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

peasants constituted 33.6%, and salaried workers, 48.5% of the deputies.[56]

The Communist Party of Armenia

Real power in Armenia was in the hands of the Communist Party. The basic units of the Communist Party were cells and candidate groups, which in Armenia averaged fifteen members each in 1927.[57] Cells were established in factories, villages, soviets, and the army. Each cell ordinarily included a secretary and a representative of the superior Party committee. The latter acted as an instructor-observer of the work of the cell. The functions of the cells were to spread the idea of Communism among the non-Party masses and to raise economic production, but they were instructed not to interfere in the work of the soviets and of the factory administration. They were only to observe, "control", assist, and cooperate with the regular authorities. The secretary of the cell had to be approved by the respective district or city Party committee.[58]

The next level of Party organization was the district. A district committee, consisting of seven

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[56] Armenia (S.S.R.), Gendronagan kordzatir gomidei ev zhoghovrtagan gomisariadneri khorhourt, Khorhrtayin Hayasdan, hink dari, 1920-1925, pp. 11-14.

[57] Kom. akad. stat., pp. 144-145.

[58] Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, pp. 244-245 and M. Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled (Cambridge, 1953), p. 193.

members, was elected for a six-month term by the district congress of Party organizations.[59] Party cells in urban areas elected a city committee. The appointment of secretaries of the district and city committees had to be confirmed by the county Party committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia; often the approval of the Central Committee of the Union Party was also required. The chairman of the executive committee of the local government was included in the membership of the city or district committee.[60]

The Party committee of a county, consisting of seven members, was elected by the county congress of Party organizations for a six-month term.[61] The leading officials and secretary of the county committee had to be approved by the Armenian Central Committee.[62]

The supreme Party organ in Armenia was the Central Committee, which was elected by a congress of all Party organizations in Armenia and consisted of not more than twenty-five members. The Central Committee chose a

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[59] Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, p. 279.

[60] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 193.

[61] Pervyi kom s"ezd Zak., 1922, p. 279.

[62] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 191.

Presidium of seven members which met once a month. Three Party secretaries were chosen separately, one of which was usually designated the first, or responsible secretary.[63] The first secretary was in fact an appointee of the Union Central Committee. The Presidium usually included the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the Commissar of Internal Affairs, and the secretaries of the more important county committees of Armenia. While the leading government and Party officials of Armenia were in practise appointed by the Union Central Committee, the Armenian Central Committee had a number of important powers and functions. It was responsible for all other Party, Komsomol, trade union, and government appointments in Armenia. It supervised the execution of the orders of the Union Central Committee, the publication of Party newspapers and agitators' handbooks, and the operation of courses and schools for political training of Party and government officials and staff. It was responsible for preparing propagandists and agitators in Armenia and for the supervision of the cultural life of the Republic to prevent nationalist deviations.[64]

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[63] Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, pp. 246-247.

[64] Fainsod, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

The Central Committee of Armenia was obliged to execute all directives from the central Party organs of the Union.[65]

The Central Committee of Armenia was officially linked to the Union central Party organs through Kavbiuro, prior to 1922, and then by a similar body, the Zakavkazskii Kraevoi Komitet, or Z.K.K. (Transcaucasian Regional Committee). The Z.K.K. was elected for a term of one year by the Congress of Transcaucasian Party organizations. It consisted of nine members and five candidates. In 1922 two representatives of Armenian, Miasnikian and Lugashin, were members of the Z.K.K.[66] Three times a year the Z.K.K. summoned conferences of Transcaucasian Party organizations, and, in necessary circumstances, meetings of the secretaries of the republic central committees, county committees, and Party administrative departments. The Z.K.K. was responsible for the general conduct of Party work in Transcaucasia. Its members and instructors attended the Party conferences and congresses in the republics, "assisted" in the selection of Party committees, and confirmed the appointments of secretaries

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[65]Borian, op. cit., II, 207.

[66]Pervyi kom. s"ezd. Zak., 1922, pp. 290 and 299.

of county Party committees. The members and instructors of both the Central Committee of Armenia and the Z.K.K. made tours of local Party organizations to give instruction and to check up on local work.[67]

One of the principal problems of the Communist Party of Armenia in the twenties was the existence of a strong element of Armenian nationalists within the Party ranks.[68] Party members had been enlisted quickly in the early twenties from among persons without thorough indoctrination in Communist ideology. Another problem was the unfamiliarity of many Communists with local conditions and the local population of Armenia. To a significant extent the members of the Communist Party of Armenia were recruited from among urban Armenians within the Soviet Union, but outside Armenia proper.[69]

During the period 1921-1928 the Communist Party of Armenia gradually increased in size. In January, 1920, it included about 600 members; by 1927 its membership had risen to 4,755. Throughout

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[67] Ibid., pp. 281-282.

[68] Ibid., p. 84.

[69] Ibid., pp. 76 and 88.

the period Armenians constituted about 90% of Party membership. Despite the easing of requirements for the entry of women into the Party in 1925, women still constituted less than 5% of the total membership of the Communist Party of Armenia in 1928.[70]

A breakdown of the composition of the Party is given in Table 3. The majority of Party members were intellectuals, white collar workers, and peasants. According to social origin, 27.4% of Armenian Communists were manual workers, 49.7% were peasants, and 20.5% were white collar workers and intellectuals in 1927. According to occupation, 17.0% were manual workers, 33% were peasants, and 41.5% were white collar workers and intellectuals.

When the composition of the Communist Party of Armenia is compared with that of the Union Party as a whole during the period 1921-1928, the following facts appear: (1) the percentage of women in the Communist Party of Armenia was substantially lower than that in the Union Party as a whole (8.2% in the Union, 2.5% in Armenia in 1924).[71] (2) The percentage of manual workers

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[70]Kommunisticheskaia partiia sovetskogo soiuza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, Otdel rabotnits i krestianok, Truzhenitsa Zakavkaz'ia [The Working Woman of Transcaucasia] (Tiflis, 1926), p. 39. Hereafter cited as Truzh. Zak.

[71]Fainsod, op. cit., p. 217.

TABLE 3

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARMENIA, 1922-1928

	1922[a]	1924	1926[b]	1927	1928[c]
1. Total members	1,657	.....[f]	3,462	4,755[c]	.....
2. Total candidates	.....	.....	3,330	3,436[c]	.....
3. Total members and candidates	.....	4,425[d]	6,972	8,191[c]	9,401
Of these,					
a. Armenians	89.5%	.....	91.8%	90.5%[c]	90.5%
b. Women	.....	2.5%[e]	4.3%	5.3%[a]	4.9%
c. Workers by social origin	.....	.....	21.8%	27.4%[a]	.....
d. Workers by occupation	6.2%	.....	.....	17.0%[a]	27.0%
(1) Of these, personally engaged in agriculture	.....	.....	.....	24.3%[a]	7.1%
e. Peasants by social origin	.....	.....	56.5%	49.7%[a]	.....
f. Peasants by occupation	.....	.....	.....	33.0%[a]	31.9%
g. White collar workers and intellectuals by social origin	.....	.....	19.9%	20.5%[a]	.....
h. White collar workers and intellectuals by occupation	.....	.....	.....	41.5%[a]	.....
4. Number of Communists per 1,000 population of Armenia	.....	.....	.....	9.4[a]	.....

Sources:

a. Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîuza, Tsentral'nyi komitet, Statisticheskii otdel, Sotsial'nyi i natsional'nyi sostav V.K.P. (b) (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), pp. 117, 120, 124, 128, 130, 137, 141.

b. "Armîanskaia Sotsialisticheskaîa Sovetskaîa Respublika," Bol'shaîa Sovetskaîa Entsiklopediîa, Vol. III, 1st ed., 434-435.

c. Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniiu natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), pp. 139, 144-145, 148-149.

d. A. Mîasnikov, Armîanskie politicheskie partii za rubezhom (Tiflis, 1925), p. 70.

e. Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîuza, Zakavkazskii Kraevoi Komitet, Truzhenitsa Zakavkaz'îa (Tiflis, 1926), p. 38.

f. No data available, indicated by .....

in the Armenian Party was only half as large as the percentage in the Union Party as a whole: 55.7% of the members of the Union Party and 27.4% of the Armenian Party were workers by social origin in 1927.[72] (3) While the number of Communists per 1,000 population was 9.4 in Armenia, it was only 7.2 per 1,000 in the U.S.S.R. as a whole.[73]

An American observer stated in 1928, "The Armenian members of the Communist Party are many, and seem to be drawn from the best elements in the population."[74] It is true that 95.6% of the Armenian members of the Communist Party of Armenia were literate in 1927. However, only 5% had received at least a secondary education.[75] The latter figures do not compare badly with those relating to the Union Party as a whole, 97.6% of whose members were literate and 7.9% of whom had received at least a secondary education.[76] No data is available to the author regarding

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[72] Ibid., p. 213.

[73] Kom. akad. stat., p. 137.

[74] Ross, op. cit., p. 40.

[75] Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîuza, Tsentral'nyi komitet, Statisticheskii otdel, Sotsial'nyi i natsional'nyi sostav V.K.P.(b) [Social and National Composition of the All-Union Communist Party] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), pp. 145-146.

[76] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 221.

the other qualifications of Armenian Party members. However, many were probably fervent idealists such as the young Communist girl described by M.S. Shaginian in 1926. This young girl, fresh out of Party school, rode horseback fro the first time in her life for a distance of eighteen miles over tortuous mountain paths in a single day. She was on her way to attend a meeting of village women with whom she was completely unfamiliar. On arriving she refused to eat or rest before taking charge of the meeting, which lasted late into the evening. Afterward, the girl was pale, her teeth were chattering with nervousness, and she was unable to get to sleep. M. S. Shaginian asked her why she had refused to eat or rest before the meeting. The girl replied:

> You do not know the country. I have come for the first time. If the peasant women saw me suddenly start to eat, they would have had a different attitude, all on account of the food....You possibly did not know this: but this was a meeting of the aktiv! It is necessary to take society into consideration.[77]

Reactions to Soviet Political Policies

It is probable that the enforcement of law and order in Armenia and the korennizatsiŋa of the government were popular policies among the people of Armenia. At least on the surface Armenia was being governed by Armenians.

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[77]Shaginian, op. cit., p. 122.

Large numbers of the intelligentsia were employed as government officials. Borian declares that the intelligentsia committed virtually no sabotage or hostile acts against the government, but cooperated with the "working masses" in constructive work.[78]

However, anti-Soviet feeling was not lacking. Borian reports that Armenian Dashnak "counter-revolutionaries" in Persia kept in contact with rich peasants (kulaki) in Armenia and were responsible for conspiracies, political murders, sabotage, espionage, undermining economic construction, and "counter-revolutionary" banditism.[79] Many government forces, he said, were absorbed in the struggle with "counter-revolutionaries."[80]

Yeghenian reported that the Party's mass correspondents who reported abuses by village soviets and officials were "often subjected to local persecution."[81] Apparently the peasants went right on settling their quarrels according to customary law and the decisions of the village headman, and avoided the regular Soviet judicial organs.[82]

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[78]Borian, op. cit., II, 178 and 212.

[79]Ibid., pp. 183 and 194.

[80]Ibid., p. 178.

[81]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 85.

[82]Borian, op. cit., II, 20.

Even Armenian Party members sometimes evaded orders from the central organs of the Party. In 1922 all Armenian Communists between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-three years were ordered mobilized for the Red Army. The order was evidently not carried out and the Armenian Communist Party merely sent back "vague replies" to the central Party organs which complained about the matter.[83]

There was no general revolt against Communist rule in Armenia during the twenties for a number of reasons. The country had been devastated and the people were desperately war weary. Communist instruments of coercion and persuasion were reasonably effective. Finally, Communist policies in Armenia during 1921-1928 were relatively moderate, especially if compared with the period that preceded (1920-1921).

Economic Developments

The seven years of international and civil war (1914-1921) left Armenia a ruined country. During the early twenties famine and disease were the real rulers of Armenia.

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[83] Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, p. 197.

> The young and old lie dead on the streets, in the fields, and on the roads. Each day in towns and villages the death carts rumble over the cobbles, bearing their ghastly loads to an open ditch in the fields. The wolves fatten and become bold. At night they range the streets to feast on the toll of the day.[84]

Men, weak with starvation, would stagger behind their oxen as they plowed their fields. While the cattle grazed, the peasants dug roots in the same field.[85] In April, 1922, it was reported that over 200,000 persons were starving in Armenia and in Idzhevan (Delijan) district alone one hundred persons were dying every day. The peasants ate the grain they had saved for sowing and sold the remains of their cattle, tools, and household goods for food.[86] People tried to make bread out of "all kinds of indescribable filth" picked up from the roads.[87] Bodies were even dug up from the cemeteries and sold for food. Money was worthless and old clothes served as the most useful currency.[88]

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[84] I. R. Hartill, Men Are Like That (Indianapolis, 1924), p. 301.

[85] Ibid., p. 302.

[86] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei (Moscow), June 15, 1922, pp. 10-12.

[87] The Times (London), April 15, 1922, 18:1.

[88] The New York Times, March 17, 1922, 22:2.

This situation existed because of the influx of destitute refugees, the inability of Russia to send much food to Armenia (Russia also suffered from famine), and above all the decrease in land under cultivation in Armenia. In 1922 the cultivated area in Armenia was only 29% of what it had been in 1914.[89] The harvest of 1922 yielded only 60% of the grain needed to reseed the land and feed the population.[90] It was mainly the supplies of American Near East Relief which kept the country alive in the early twenties. "Economically, Americans were governing the country," a Near East Relief employee said.[91]

Soviet Economic Policies

During the twenties the primary aim of Soviet economic policy in Armenia was reconstruction. Special emphasis was given to bringing agricultural production up to its pre-war level. Industrial development was considered secondary. The restoration of pre-war economic levels was to be the first step in the march toward Socialism and Communism. In order to promote the "collective spirit," various forms of economic cooperation

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[89] G. Pichikian, Narodnoe khozяistvo i kooperatsiя Armenii [People's Economy and Cooperation of Armenia] Tiflis, 1927), p. 20.

[90] Elliot, op. cit., p. 208.

[91] Ibid., p. 174.

were encouraged. However, this was the period of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) in the Soviet Union, a period in which private capitalist enterprise was given limited opportunities to develop.

During the early twenties it was the policy of the government of Soviet Armenia to take nearly the whole crop of the peasant in taxes and in payment of loans. In this way food control remained in government hands. The grain was redistributed in payment for work on roads and irrigation canals.[92] In 1922 the distilling industry was virtually the only source of revenue available to the government which could be used to pay for supplies from outside Armenia.[93] Cotton growing was strongly encouraged, for it was hoped that cotton exports would become the basis of Armenia's state finance.[94]

During 1921-1925 most taxes were collected from the peasants. Payment was by households according to the amount of land tilled and the number of working cattle.[95] Prior to 1924 agricultural taxes were paid

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[92] Ibid., p. 209.

[93] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, No. 1 (January, 1923), p. 164.

[94] Buxton, op. cit., p. 61.

[95] Ross, op. cit., p. 43.

wholly or partly in kind.[96] After 1924 the tax burden on the peasants was substantially lightened. By the end of the twenties only 55% of all taxes were paid by the peasantry. The income of all wage earners, artisans, professional men and rentiers was also taxed, the latter three groups being taxed more heavily. At the end of the twenties the urban resident paid about six times as much in taxes as the village resident, on the average.[97]

Insurance on agricultural crops and animals became compulsory in 1922, and such insurance was a state monopoly.[98] Various agricultural loan banks and credit associations were opened in the early twenties.[99]

The principal Soviet economic goal in Armenia during the twenties was the raising of agricultural production.[100] The basic agricultural problem was the lack of good land. For optimum utilization of

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[96]G. Hagopian, L'agriculture et la propriété foncière dans l'Arménie moderne (Philippeville, France, 1930), p. 93.

[97]Ross, op. cit., p. 44.

[98]G. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 86.

[99]Ibid., pp. 90-94.

[100]Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, No. 1 (January, 1923), p. 164.

the land the government sought to distribute it as equitably and rationally as possible. All land was nationalized and put at the disposal of the Commissariat of Agriculture on December 28, 1920.[101] About 50,000 acres of land were taken from landlords and churches and given to the peasants.[102] The peasants had spontaneously redivided the land on their own, and the government took no hand in land reorganization until November, 1921.[103] At that time a land committee was organized in each village and given detailed instructions by the central government. The decisions of the land committee had to be approved by the village assembly and the county executive committee.[104] Land was re-allocated according to the following principles: (1) the adaption of cultivation to geographical conditions; (2) the elimination of inefficient holdings, such as scattered strips of land; (3) the

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[101] A. M. Esaian, Mul'kadarskoe pravo v Armenii [Mulkadar Law in Armenia] (Erivan, 1948), pp. 152-153.

[102] A. Lalaian, "XIII godovshchina Sovetskoi Armenii i sotsialisticheskaia rekonstruktsiia ee sel'skogo khoziaistva" [The 13th Anniversary of Soviet Armenia and the Socialist Reconstruction of Its Agriculture], Revoliutsionnyi Vostok, No. 6 (1933), p. 145.

[103] M. S. Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia [Soviet Armenia] (Petrograd-Moscow, 1923), pp. 83 and 90.

[104] Ibid., p. 91.

making of landholding proportional to the economic strength of a household; (4) the setting aside of some land for agricultural cooperatives and state farms.[105]

All land was cultivated by peasant households and communes with the exception of 100 acres privately owned by the monastery of Echmiadzin and 25,000 acres reserved for the use of the state. There were three types of peasants holdings: (1) holdings of independent households; (2) holdings of households within a village commune, which were to be redistributed every nine years; (3) holdings of collective farms (artely), cultivated jointly by several households.[106] Land could not be bought, sold, willed, or rented by private persons. The hiring of agricultural labor was temporarily permitted. All crops, vineyards, orchards, and buildings were regarded as private property. Usually village pasture lands were held in common, and frequently village herds were communal also.[107] Land was allocated to a household according to the number of members of the household and according to the

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[105] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[106] Ross, op. cit., p. 47.

[107] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

amount of equipment (farm animals and tools) the household owned.[108]

The land norms established in Armenia were one desʃatin (2.69 acres) per person in lowland areas, one and one-fourth desʃatin in foothill areas, two desʃatiny in highland areas; and three desʃatiny in alpine areas. However, actual holdings were, on the average, only about one-half of these norms.[109] In 1928 the average holding of sown land per capita rural population in Armenia was only 0.07 desʃatiny (0.186 acres).[110] Allotments given to Russian and Tartar peasants were generally larger than those given to Armenian peasants.[111]

In order to make land distribution more equitable, the government transferred the peasants from land-poor regions to land-rich regions. Apparently this measure evoked strong peasant opposition.[112] Villages with fairly abundant land were consolidated with land-poor villages.[113]

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[108] G. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 18.

[109] Shaginian, Sovetskaʃa Armeniʃa, pp. 84 and 87.

[110] F. Lorimer, The Population of the Soviet Union (Geneva, 1946), p. 159.

[111] Ross, op. cit., p. 48.

[112] Shaginian, Sovetskaʃa Armeniʃa, pp. 91-92.

[113] Ibid., p. 60.

The government hoped that the problem of land scarcity in Armenia would eventually be solved by raising the technical level of agriculture, the development of auxiliary agricultural industries, the creation of large-scale industry to absorb surplus rural population, and the increase of the reserve of cultivable land through irrigation projects.[114] Some members of the government also put their hopes on collective and state farms. Collective farms were established in the early twenties but most of these were soon abolished, for the peasants proved to be "uncooperative."[115] State farms proved to be unprofitable also, for the peasants working on them resented the tight administrative controls. The state farms were then converted into non-profit research centers.[116] The government made no further effort to encourage collective farming until the late twenties.[117]

Although collective farming was a failure during the early twenties, other forms of cooperation proved to be more popular. Some independent peasant households pooled their financial resources to buy agricultural

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[114] Ibid., p. 100.

[115] Ibid., p. 67.

[116] Ibid., p. 116.

[117] Lalaian, loc. cit., p. 147.

machinery. Mutual aid societies were organized in most towns and villages for the purpose of aiding the poor, repairing and constructing public works, houses, and schools, and buying books and medicines. The income of these societies came from voluntary contributions of members and concessions run by the societies, such as water mills, vegetable oil refineries, slaughterhouses, tearooms, and the exploitation of abandoned land.[118]

A vast network of consumer cooperatives developed in Armenia during the twenties. The government and the Party conducted mass campaigns to increase membership in these organizations.[119] After June, 1921, consumer cooperatives were no longer government organs, but operated autonomously. Membership in cooperatives was voluntary.[120] All consumer cooperatives were organized into a union called Haigoob (Armenian Cooperation). In 1922 there was also established a governmental commercial body, Armentorg, which acquired a wholesale-retail apparatus parelleling that of Haigoob within Armenia and handled the external commerce of Armenia

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[118]G. Hagopian, op. cit., pp. 65-69.

[119]Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[120]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 105.

as well.[121]

The government felt that prosperity in Armenia was to be achieved through irrigation and hydroelectrification. Construction on the Shirak Canal was begun in 1922, and the Canal was put into operation in 1925. An effort was made to irrigate the Little Sardarabad Desert, in Echmiadzin county, by utilizing the water of the Arax River. Construction began on the Little Sardarabad Canal in 1925, and the Canal was in operation by 1932.[122] The first hydroelectric stations were built near Erivan on the Zanga River in the middle twenties. A combined power and irrigation project, Dzorages, was begun in 1927 and put into operation in 1932.[123] By 1928 there were twenty electric stations in Armenia.[124]

In order to raise the technical level of agriculture the government established experimental stations, a veterinary service, and model farms.[125]

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[121] Ibid., p. 116.

[122] Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozяistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh [15 Years of Soviet Armenia in Figures] (Erivan, 1935), pp. 54-55. Hereafter cited as Armenia, 15 let.

[123] Ibid., p. 50.

[124] Ibid., p. 70.

[125] Ross, op. cit., p. 52.

By 1925 there was one agronomist per 29,000 village inhabitants in Armenia as compared to one per 100,000 in 1914. There were ten agricultural machinery stations, twelve stations for the improvement of animal breeds, three fruit tree nurseries, and seventy model farms. In 1926 there were 180 tractors in Armenia.[126]

One of the most pressing economic problems the government had to cope with was the settlement of refugees. Despite the scarcity of land in Armenia, in September, 1921 the government invited all former inhabitants of the country to return to their lands. The Armenian peasants were forced to crowd together to make room for thousands of returning Tartar peasants.[127]

At the beginning of the Soviet period there were already two or three hundred thousand Turkish Armenian refugees in Armenia. About 150,000 of these refugees were landless and dependent on government support at the end of 1922.[128] Over 20,000 more Armenian refugees were admitted into Soviet Armenia between 1922 and 1927. In 1928 it was estimated that almost one-third of the population of Soviet

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[126]G. Hagopian, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[127]Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia, p. 27.

[128]Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, No. 1 (January, 1923), p. 165.

Armenia consisted of Turkish Armenians.[129] Gradually these refugees were absorbed in the cities and settled on the land, but by January, 1928 there were still 45,000 refugees to be provided for.[130] Frequently the government was unable to supply refugees adequately with agricultural implements and working animals, so that many refugees were forced to do wage work on the side in Georgia and Azerbaijan.[131]

The settlement of refugees in Soviet Armenia was facilitated by contributions from Armenian communities abroad and the organization of "fellow-townsmen unions" (hairenagtsagan miutiuner). The latter unions, each of which was composed of the inhabitants of a former Armenian village or town in Turkey, organized new villages in Soviet Armenia which were named after former Armenian villages in Turkey, (e.g., Nor Arapkir, Nor Malatia, Nor Evtogia).[132] The Soviet government supplied free land for these new villages, but all money for their construction and

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[129] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 255.

[130] Ibid., p. 256.

[131] V. Gurko-Krîăzhin, "Proshloe i nastoîăshchee Sovetskoi Armenii" [Past and Present of Soviet Armenia], Novyi Vostok, Nos. 16-17 (1927), p. 221.

[132] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 264.

equipment was raised among Armenians abroad.[133] Many of the refugees from Turkey were more highly skilled in such crafts as rug making and tobacco culture than were the Russian Armenians. These skills, and the enterprising spirit of the refugees, were appreciated by the Soviet government; but at the same time it was observed that the refugees had brought with them a deep sense of individual private property--a characteristic in contradiction to the Soviet ideal of "collectivism."[134]

The methods of Soviet agricultural reconstruction in Armenia may be summarized as follows: (1) peasants were highly taxed in the early twenties and more lightly taxed in the later twenties; (2) land was redistributed among households and village communes and was cultivated by individual households; (3) the employment of agricultural products by private households was permitted; (4) collective farming was begun, but proved to be a failure; (5) consumer cooperatives were widely established; (6) irrigation and hydroelectric projects were constructed; (7) efforts were made to raise the technical level of agriculture by scientific research and the distributing of agronomists in the countryside; (8) refugees were given land and in some cases supplied with tools and working animals.

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[133]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 166.

[134]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 262.

Industrial reconstruction was of secondary importance in Soviet Armenia during the twenties. All major industry was operated by the government. The distilleries of Erivan were nationalized and organized into the Ararat state trust. Five cotton textile factories were established in Leninakan.[135] The state leather trust operated a factory in Erivan. Government slaughterhouses were established in Erivan and Leninakan. Toward the end of the twenties construction stone was quarried by the state trusts Artik-tufa and Armen-pemza. By 1926 an oil and soap factory and a tobacco factory was operating in Erivan.[136] The copper mines of Armenia were idle until 1925. Reconstruction of mines and rolling mills began in the later twenties, but by 1932 the mines still did not show a profit.[137] It was only after the completion of large hydroelectric projects that mining took on importance in Soviet Armenia.[138]

Economic Trends

As a result of government emphasis on agriculture, the values of agricultural production in 1928 amounted to 78.3% of the value of all economic production.[139] The

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[135]Ross, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

[136]Armenia, 15 let, pp. 52-53.

[137]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 54.

[138]Ross, op. cit., p. 54. [139]Armenia, 15 let, pp. 2-3.

proportional value of industrial production in 1928 (21.7%) did not compare badly with its proportional value in 1913 (18.8%) and in 1919 (7.7%).[140]

The general value of agricultural production in 1925-26 was 71.5% of its pre-war level. There were 94% as many cattle, 74% as many sheep and goats, and only half as many horses as in 1914.[141] The value of gross agricultural production was distributed as follows: cereals, 34.3%; technical raw materials, such as cotton, 12.8%; animal husbandry, 24.5%; viniculture, 9%; other production, 19.4%.[142] Cereal yields were so low that it was necessary to import 35,000 tons of cereal annually from Russia.[143] By 1925 the extent of sown land in Armenia was 90% of its pre-war level.[144]

It was the policy of the government in the twenties to improve the condition of poor peasants (those who did not own sufficient land and equipment to support themselves) and middle peasants (those who owned sufficient land and equipment to support themselves but who hired no wage labor).[145] But by 1927-28 poor peasants constituted

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[140] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 15.

[141] Ross, op. cit., p. 50 and Pichikian, op. cit., pp. 29 and 120.

[142] Pichikian, op. cit., p. 16.

[143] Ross, op. cit., p. 50.

[144] Pichikian, op. cit., p. 120. [145] Ibid., p. 23.

about 10% of the rural population. In the same year 24% of the peasants of Armenia had no work animals of their own.[146] In 1927 about 5% of the peasants were kulaki.[147]

Turning now to industrial trends in the twenties, it is found that in 1925-26 the value of large-scale industrial production was 71.5% of that of 1913.[148] The total number of workers in industry, construction, and transport increased from 4,941 in 1922, to 20,361 in 1928.[149] The number of manual workers in large-scale industry increased from 845 in 1923-24, to 5,321 in 1926-27.[150] Of the total population of Armenia in December, 1926, only 10% were dependent on manual or clerical labor in industry, commerce, transport, construction, socio-cultural institutions, or government

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[146]Transcaucasia (S.F.S.R.), Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet, Kratkii obzor raboty v period mezhdu IV Zakavkazskim s'ezdom sovetov K 3-ei sessiei Zak. Ts.I.K.'a IV sozyva [Short Outline of Work in the Period Between the Fourth Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets and the Third Session, Fourth Convocation, of the Transcaucasian Central Executive Committee] (Tiflis, 1928), pp. 209-211.

[147]Lalaian, loc. cit., p. 146.

[148]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 120.

[149]Armenia. 15 let, pp. 30-31.

[150]Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaia Armeniia v tsifrakh; Statisticheskii spravochnik. 1923-1927 [Soviet Armenia in Figures; Statistical Guide, 1923-1927] (Erivan, 1930), p. 125. Hereafter cited as SA 1923-1927.

services.[151] The rural proletariat accounted for another 3% of the population. Thus, hired workers in Armenia in late 1926 accounted for only 13% of the total population.

The First Congress of Trade Unions in Soviet Armenia was held in August, 1921.[152] The following January an eight-hour work day was established for adult manual laborers, a six-hour day for mental laborers, a four-hour day for children fourteen to sixteen years of age and a six-hour day for children sixteen to eighteen years of age.[153] Farmhands were organized into a union in 1923.[154] The total membership in industrial, construction, transport, and communications unions increased from 8,672 in 1922, to 38,653 in 1928.[155] The percentage of workers in the above occupations who belonged to trade unions decreased from 59% in 1922 to 51% in 1928.[156]

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[151] Armenia. 15 let, p. 25.

[152] "Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika" [The Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic], Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, [Large Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[153] V. Khachigoghlian, H.S.Kh.H. Ashkhzhoghgomade Khorhrtatzman arachin dasnamiagin [The People's Commissariat of Labor in the First Ten Years After Sovietization] (Erivan, 1930), p. 10.

[154] Ibid., p. 14. [155] Armenia. 15 let, p. 37.

[156] Ibid., pp. 30, 31, and 37.

The unions were Communist-controlled. Of the thirty-two delegates from Soviet Armenia at the Third Transcaucasian Congress of Trade Unions, thirty were members or candidates of the Communist Party or the Komsomol.[157]

Throughout the twenties there was an unemployment problem in Armenia. Of all union members (including members of unions for "mental" workers), 11.4% were unemployed in 1923, 7.3% in 1925, and 18.7% in 1929. This does not include the unemployed who did not belong to unions.[158]

Consumer cooperatives and government-operated cooperatives gradually began to dominate the commerce of Armenia. The share of private traders in the total goods turnover decreased from 46.4% in 1924-25, to 36.7% in 1927-28.[159] By October, 1926, 37% of all households in Armenia belonged to consumer cooperatives.[160]

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[157]Zakavkazskii s"ezd profsoiuzov, 3rd, Tiflis, 1926, Tretii Zakavkazskii s"ezd profsoiuznov, 16-19 marta, 1926: resoliutsii i postanovleniia [The Third Transcaucasian Congress of Trade Unions, March 16-19, 1926; Resolutions and Decisions] (Tiflis, 1926), p. 46.

[158]Armenia, 15 let, p. 40.

[159]Ibid., p. 192.

[160]Pichikian, op. cit., p. 123.

During the twenties the transportation and communication system of Armenia was repaired and extended. No new railroads were built, but the railroad line from Tiflis to Julfa (built at the turn of the century) was repaired, and by 1925 the amount of freight it carried had reached the pre-war level.[161] This railroad was operated by the All-Union Commissariat for Transport.[162]

Prior to 1923 the government made only emergency road repairs. After that extensive road construction began and remote Zangezur was linked up with the rest of the country. The total length of all kinds of roads increased from 657 miles in 1920, to 772 miles in 1928.[163] Practically all road transport was by means of springless ox carts. The automobiles in Armenia were old and in bad repair; there were no more than fifty in all, most of which belonged to the government.[164] In 1928 there were only seventeen buses and six trucks in Armenia. Travel was difficult and slow.[165]

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[161] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 71.

[162] Ross, op. cit., p. 44.

[163] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 67-68.

[164] Ross, op. cit., p. 45.

[165] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 73.

Telegraph lines were repaired and extended in the twenties.[166] Telephone communication was limited to the cities of Erivan and Leninakan until 1928, when twenty village soviets had direct telephone connections with Erivan.[167]

Reactions to Soviet Economic Policies

The economic reconstruction of Armenia in the twenties succeeded in restoring the productivity of the country to pre-war levels. This was of course appreciated by the population. There was evidence of resistance, however, to the policies of forced internal migration in connection with land redistribution in the early twenties, as well as to the establishing of collective and state farms. The collective farms were established mainly for refugees, and were under rigid government control. The refugees refused to work in them, most of the projects were abandoned.[168] At the end of 1927 only 346 peasant households (0.2% of total households) were collectivized.[169] Peasants also resisted giving up land to state farms.[170] The state farms proved to be unprofitable and were converted into research stations.

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[166]Ross, op. cit., p. 46.

[167]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 96.

[168]Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia, p. 67.

[169]Lalaian, loc. cit., p. 147.

[170]G. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 60.

After these failures the Armenian government did little to encourage collective farming until 1928. Opponents to collectivization expressed their view freely. An Armenian economist, S. T. Kamsarakian, declared that the essence of the development of agriculture in Soviet Armenia was the same as before the revolution, and that the government could only introduce correctives. Another economist, K. Avdelbekian, opposed the land equalization measures of the Commissariat of Agriculture, such as the handing over of land of capable peasants to "parasites." He also held that a stable petty commercial economy was the key to the property of Armenia. Still another economist, A. Kalantarian, held the view that a rich village was the basis for the development of industry. These economists belonged to the right-wing economic school in the Soviet Union, led by such men as Kondratiev and Bukharin, who felt that the kulaki were an important contributing element in economic prosperity and opposed the accumulation of industrial capital by large forced savings extracted from the peasantry. The appointment of A. Khanjian as the real ruler of Armenia in the late twenties coincided with the initiation of forced agricultural collectivization, rapid industrial development, and the silencing of the right-wing Armenian economists.[171]

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[171] Lalaian, loc. cit., p. 147.

There is evidence that the Armenian peasantry was bitter because of the scarcity of land and blamed the scarcity on the Soviet Government. In 1921 large fertile areas which had been claimed by the Armenians were ceded to Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. At the First Agricultural Conference of Armenia in November, 1922, one delegate stated, "It is necessary to seek a land fund outside the boundaries of Armenia." This met with a lively response from the audience and discussion was only ended when the Communists present ruled that the matter was a political question and not within the jurisdiction of the conference.[172]

Another evidence of resistance to Soviet policies was the decrease (59% to 51%) in the percentage of workers belonging to industrial, construction, transport, and communications trade unions between 1922 and 1928. These unions were deprived of almost all independence of action, and it is possible that workers considered union membership to be of little value. It is interesting to note that 84% of all "mental" workers (teachers, government officials and clerks, etc.) were unionized in 1928.[173] The intelligentsia of Armenia were either more cooperative, or under greater pressure to cooperate with the Soviets.

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[172]Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia, p. 97.

[173]Armenia, 15 let, pp. 30-31, and 37.

Social Developments

Soviet Social Policies

Most of the rulers of Armenia had been content to skim taxes off of the country and then to leave it more or less to its own devices. But the Communist regime in Armenia sought to reorganize Armenian society and to transform the patterns of behavior which formed the woof and warp of Armenian culture. The Communists sought to weaken the exclusive claims of family loyalty by developing loyalty to their regime and to the secondary organizations they sponsored. They sought to transform relations between the sexes by establishing legal equality of men and women with regard to marriage, divorce, property ownership, and child rearing; by encouraging women to take jobs outside the home and participate in political life; by protecting the unmarried mother and illegitimate child; and by preventing all marriages not based on the free choice of the spouses. They sought to bring Soviet urban culture to the villages.

As a result of the disruptive influences of the war years, Armenian society was facing new problems. Orphaned children were wandering in the streets; juvenile delinquents were many and had formed a sub-culture of

their own; thousands of Armenian refugees were trying to adjust to unfamiliar conditions. The Communist regime undertook to solve these problems in its own way. It sought to reintegrate displaced persons in Communist patterns, not traditional patterns.

Soviet Social Legislation

In order to attain their ends, the Communists drew up new social legislation and established legal and administrative machinery to enforce it. They legislated against bytovye (traditional) offenses---acts by individuals which were regarded as survivals of traditional culture and socially dangerous in themselves. Murder was to be punished by the state, and not by family vendetta; if a member of a clan of a murder victim refused to be reconciled with the clan of the murderer, his property might be confiscated. The purchase or sale of a woman in marriage in the form of a bride price or dowry, was forbidden.[174] The rape of a woman became a criminal act subject to state jurisdiction.[175] In the early twenties prostitutes had to be registered and the state undertook their "re-education."[176]

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[174] R. Schlesinger, ed., The Family in the USSR (London, 1949), pp. 190-192.

[175] Ibid., p. 215.

[176] Ross, op. cit., p. 70.

The first Soviet code dealing with family relationships was published in October 17, 1918 and later was translated into Armenian and applied in Soviet Armenia. According to this code, the mutual consent of both parties to marriage was necessary. The mutual consent of husband and wife, or the desire of one, were possible grounds for divorce; but if consent was not mutual, court proceedings were required. In Soviet Armenia, if only one party wanted a divorce, the courts were less likely to grant the divorce if that party was a man.[177] Marriage, and divorce by mutual consent, could be established by registration at the local office of Registry of Acts of Civil Status (ZAGS). Alimony was to be paid if one spouse was able and if the other spouse was in need. Inheritance was based on actual descent: illegitimate and legitimate children had equal rights. Parents were to exercise conjointly parental rights over girls under sixteen and boys under eighteen years of age, and all measures concerning children were to be taken by parents by mutual agreement. The principle of separate property, even that acquired during marriage, was established.[178]

Abortion was legalized on November 18, 1920. At the same time, however, every effort was made to promote the use of contraceptive measures. Abortions had to be performed in

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[177]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 178.

[178]Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 31-41, passim.

state hospitals by a state-employed doctor.[179]

The Land Code of October 30, 1922 provided that either a man or a woman might be the legal head of a household. The Civil Code on inheritance of November 11, 1922, provided that all direct descendants were entitled to inheritance and to receive an equal part per capita.[180]

Family law was re-codified on November 19, 1926. It was now ruled that divorce could be obtained without court proceedings by the wish of one spouse only. If parents were cruel to their children, or did not care for them, the courts could deprive them of parental rights and hand the children over to a guardian.[181] Women living in de facto marriage were given rights equal to those of registered wives. The right of a divorced spouse to support was restricted to one year.[182] The age of marriage was fixed at eighteen years for boys and sixteen years for

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[179]Ibid., p. 44 and L. E. Luke, "Marxian Woman: Soviet Variants," Through the Glass of Soviet Literature: Views of Russian Society, ed. by E. J. Simmons (New York, 1933), p. 32.

[180]Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[181]H. Boghossian, Arti Hayasdane [Present-Day Armenia] (Cairo, 1933), p. 40.

[182]Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 17.

girls in Soviet Armenia, and parents who arranged the marriage of children under these ages without state approval were subject to prosecution.[183]

Despite the fact that Soviet legislation protected unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, it should be noted that the Communist Party did not encourage sexual libertinism. The following statement of Lenin was often quoted:

> Of course, thirst must be satisfied. But will the normal man in normal circumstances lie down in the gutter and drink out of a puddle, or out of a glass with a rim greasy from many lips? But the social aspect is the most important of all. Drinking water is of course an individual affair. But in love two lives are concerned, and a third, a new life, arises. It is that which gives it its social interest, which gives rising to a duty towards the community....Self control, self-discipline is not slavery, not even in live.[184]

H. Azadian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Armenia, gave a lecture at one of the workers' clubs of Erivan in February, 1928, in which he declared that a number of youths had "mistaken" notions about sexual morality and led a premature sex life. He declared that this held back their physical and mental development and caused misfortune to others. He also condemned "extremists" who abandoned their wives and children.[185]

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[183]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 103.

[184]Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

[185]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 176.

Soviet Organizations for Women

In order to popularize and to put into effect the new family legislation, the Communists sponsored a number of secondary institutions. These institutions also served to develop loyalties beyond the family, to fight juvenile delinquency, to lessen urban-rural cultural differences, and to bring women into public life. The first of these institutions was the Women's Division (Zhenotdel) of the Communist Party, (known in Armenia as Ginpazhin). The first Zhenotdel was organized as a subdivision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in September, 1919.[186] The Communist Party of Armenia had a Zhenotdel from November, 1920,[187] and a Zhenotdel was attached to Kavbiuro in December, 1921.[188] The Zhenotdel organizers enlisted as aides delegatki, women elected by their fellow women workers in jobs or in villages. The meeting of delegates, or delegatskie sobranie, was the official representative of women, as women.[189]

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[186]"Zhenskoe kommunisticheskoe dvizhenie v SSSR" [The Women's Communist Movement in the USSR] Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Vol. XXV, 1st ed.

[187]V. Golubeva, "Armeniia" [Armenia] Kommunistka. Nos. 10-11 (October-November, 1922), p. 47.

[188]Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, p. 257.

[189]Luke, loc. cit., p. 33.

Zhenotdel sought to indoctrinate women with Communist principles, to enroll them in the Party, to train them for government service, and to help them advance on the job. Zhenotdel representatives had a voice in selecting the women and girl factory workers which were to be given special training. They served as industrial arbitration committees, sponsored delegatki for elections to the local soviets, sat on commissions to authorize which women were to be given free abortions, and cooperated in campaigns to eradicate prostitution. Zhenotdel assisted in the prosecution of cases concerning the establishment of paternity, alimony claims, and the non-support of children.[190] It gave aid to abandoned women and children. It established nurseries and playgrounds for the children of working mothers. It established public dining rooms and cooperative workshops to give employment to women and girls who had come into Erivan from the countryside in order to save them "from falling into a dishonorable way of life."[191]

Zhenotdel sought to assign a delegatka to take responsibility for every home where there was a woman isolated from public life because of home responsibilities. The delegatka would visit such a home, and give instruction in the "scientific" raising of children and the simple rules of hygiene. The delegatka would try to interest the women

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[190] Ibid. [191] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 217.

of the household in the organized life of the community. She also would try to establish contact with the children of the household, encouraging them to report cases of child beating, wife beating, and forced marriage.[192] Of course, such activities had immense potentialities for family disruption.

Zhenotdel agitators went about the countryside giving lectures to the village women. One such agitator was the girl Communist described above in the section on the Communist Party. The meeting she attended was held in the village soviet meeting hall by the light of a kerosene lamp. Women sat on benches, the floor, the table, and stood by the wall. The married women, according to custom, at first kept the lower part of the face covered. The Zhenotdel agitator sat on a table and spoke slowly and patiently. When she had finished her lecture,

> Very slowly and reluctantly, but compelled by questions, the women began to speak out from under the kerchiefs over their mouths. Gradually the kerchiefs were lowered to the chin and to the neck, there was confusion, voices grew louder, and a heated, passionate, shouting, and gesticulating discussion began. Each woman moved toward the table to the zavzhen [zhenotdel head] and a certain very old peasant woman, blinded by trachoma, with sunken cheeks and the large, worn hands of a perpetual working woman, unexpectedly called kindly to my young fellow traveller, who in years might have been her granddaughter, with the word, "mairik" ---mama."[193]

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[192]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 94.

[193]M. S. Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii [Journey Through Soviet Armenia] (Moscow, 1951), p. 81.

The position of Zhenotdel within the Party was somewhat precarious because of the ambivalent attitude of many Party members toward feminism. In 1929 Zhenotdel was dissolved and its functions were turned over to the Sector of Mass Work Among Worker and Peasant Women in the Party's Division of Agitation and Mass Campaigns.

Zhenotdel functions were also carried on by the Commission for the Improvement of the Way of Life (Byt') of Women, attached to the Central Executive Committee of Armenia.[194] The latter commission, known in Armenia as the Ganantz gentsaghe parelavogh hantsnazhoghove (G.G.P.H.), was established in 1923.[195] The G.G.P.H. was an official government body, in distinction to Zhenotdel. Its functions were similar to those of Zhenotdel. It advised government organs, conducted propaganda campaigns, offered legal advice to women, and provided an inspection service in order that Soviet legislation regarding the family and "traditional" offenses be put into effect.[196] The preliminary operational plans of the G.G.P.H. were worked out by the All-Union Commission, to which the G.G.P.H. belonged.[197]

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[194]"Zhenskoe kommunisticheskoe dvizhenie v SSSR" [The Women's Communist Movement in the USSR] Bol'shaîa Sovetskaîa Entsiklopediîa, Vol. XXV, 1st ed.

[195]Truzh. Zak., p. 59.

[196]Transcaucasia. Laws, pp. 28-30.

[197]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 218.

Prior to 1926 the G.G.P.H. had no budget or paid workers, but its position was regularized and strengthened toward the end of the twenties.[198] It had a central office in Erivan and branches in Leninakan and all county centers.[199] After the marriage laws were revised to permit either partner in a marriage to obtain a divorce by simple registration (1926), the G.G.P.H. made a special effort to stiffen divorce laws so that men could not abandon their wives and children arbitrarily.[200]

Both Zhenotdel and the G.G.P.H. sponsored special conferences devoted to the advancement of the welfare of women. Armenian delegatki attended the First Transcaucasian Congress of Working Women, held in Baku during the summer of 1922.[201] In 1927 the First Congress of Women Members of Soviets was held in Armenia as a prelude to the All-Union Congress. Health, education, social security, and the problems of women were discussed. Peasant women from all over Soviet Armenia, some with the lower part of the face covered, sat close together on benches.[202] It was

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[198] Truzh. Zak., p. 61.

[199] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 217. [200] Ibid., p.178.

[201] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei (Moscow), June 26, 1922, p. 10.

[202] Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e, pp. 117-119.

announced at the Congress that the number of delegatki in Armenia had increased from 240 in 1923-1924, to 6,616 in 1926-1927.[203]

Soviet Youth Organizations

In order to enlist the loyalty of the children and adolescents of Armenia to the Communist regime, a number of Party-controlled youth organizations were founded. These organizations were branches of All-Union youth organizations. The Union of Communist Youth, or Komsomol (known in Armenia as the Gomyeridmioutyoun) was for youths from the ages of about fourteen to twenty years. As early as 1918 there were Bolshevik youth organizations in Armenia. In April, 1919, these organizations united to form a Communist Youth Union known as Spartak. It may be recalled that Armenian Communist youth took a leading role in the Sovietization of Armenia. The First Congress of the Komsomol of Armenia took place in Erivan in August, 1921, after which the Armenian Komsomol officially became a constituent part of the Russian Komsomol.[204]

During the twenties the Komsomol engaged in anti-religious propaganda in the struggle to "emancipate" women, and in the leadership of extra-curricular student

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[203] Ibid., p. 120.

[204] "Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

organizations.[205] Komsomol members in the schools created a united front of "progressive" students against "insightless" teachers.[206] The Komsomol organized sports, social activities, and military training for its members. It arranged hobby clubs, political study groups, and various excursions.[207] It was the duty of the Komsomol to provide leadership for the Pioneers, an organization for children aged nine to fifteen. The most outstanding and devoted members of the Komsomol became members of the Communist Party after they became about twenty years old.[208]

The Komsomol was organized along the lines of the Communist Party. There was a Central Committee for Armenia, which supervised county and city committees, each of which had a secretary. Almost all the Komsomol secretaries were Party members.[209] The central organs of the Komsomol were directly linked with those of the

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[205] R. C. Widmayer, "The Communist Party and the Soviet Schools, 1917-1937," (Doctor's dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1953), pp. 210-218, passim.

[206] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 124.

[207] Ibid., p. 125.

[208] Pervyi kom. s"ezd Zak., 1922, p. 296.

[209] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 252.

Party.[210] According to emigre reports, only about 10-20% of the Komsomol members were real idealists: the rest were attracted by Komsomol social activities, ambition, and pride in being considered leadership material.[211]

After the excitement of the revolutionary years was over, and the more cynical period of the New Economic Policy began, many Communist youths became disillusioned. Komsomol membership in Armenia fell from 7,990 in 1921 to 5,800 in 1924. The membership of girls in the Armenian Komsomol remained especially low. Girls never accounted for more than 11.5% of the membership in the twenties. Most Armenian girl Komsomol members were relatives of Party or Komsomol members. A Communist Party report blamed this not on the ignorance of the girls, but on the opposition of parents, especially in the countryside.[212] One of the reasons for parental opposition was the fact that the Komsomol was a coeducational organization. Another cause for the smallness of girl membership was the indifference and scorn shown toward Armenian Komsomol girls by Armenian Komsomol boys and by adults. This attitude was less prevalent in towns, where

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[210] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 124.

[211] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 251.

[212] Truzh. Zak., p. 40.

girls joined the Komsomol while in school.[213]

The composition of the membership of the Armenian Komsomol is given in Table 4. It is interesting to note the comparatively low percentages of "proletarian" and of girl members in the Komsomol of Armenia as compared to that of the Soviet Union as a whole. The percentage of Armenians in the Armenian Komsomol was slightly greater (88.7%) in July, 1927, than the percentage of Armenians in the total population of Armenia (84.5%).[214]

The organization of Pioneers, for children aged nine to fifteen, was formed toward the end of 1922.[215] By 1926 there were 27,833 Pioneers in Armenia.[216] The same parents who prevented their older daughters from joining the Komsomol would often allow younger daughters who had not reached the age of puberty to join the Pioneers. In some cases girl and boy Pioneers were segregated into separate units.[217]

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[213] Ibid., p. 42.

[214] Kom. akad. stat., p. 161.

[215] Fainsod, op. cit., p. 244.

[216] "Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol. III, 1st ed.

[217] Truzh. Zak., pp. 43-44.

TABLE 4

COMPOSITION OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION OF COMMUNIST YOUTH OF SOVIET ARMENIA, 1923-1929

	October 1921[a]	January 1923[b]	January 1924[b]	January 1925[b]	January 1926[b]	January 1927[c]	January 1928[c]	January 1929[c]
1. Total members and candidates of Communist Youth of Armenia	7,990	6,676	5,800	11,383	13,425	19,730	20,845	22,399
Of these,								
a. Girls - number	.....[d]	303	184	821	1,413	2,188	2,325	2,548
Percentage of total Komsomol members	.....	4.6%	3.2%	7.2%	10.6%	11.5%	11.4%	11.5%
b. Workers and farm hands - number	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,904	4,958	8,352
Percentage of total Komsomol members	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.5%	24.4%	37.8%
c. Communist Party members - number	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,573	1,618	1,764
Percentage of total Komsomol members	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.2%	8.0%	7.9%
2. Of the total members of the All-Union Union of Communist Union,								
a. Girls	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21.3%	22.4%	22.8%
b. Workers and farm hands	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42.6%	43.5%	46.6%
c. Party members	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.8%	9.4%	10.4%

a. "Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sov etskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol. III, 2nd ed., p. 72.

b. Kommunisticheskai͡a partii͡a sovetskogo soi͡uza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, Truzhenitsa Zakavkaz'i͡a (Tiflis, 1926), p. 41.

c. Kommunisticheskai͡a akademii͡a, Moscow, Komissii͡a po izucheniiu natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'nai͡a politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), pp. 153-54 and 158.

d. No data available, indicated by .....

The Pioneers were organized into brigades of about forty members, each headed by a Komsomol leader. Pioneer activities included athletic competitions, nature study and historical excursions, and social work, such as fighting religion in the home, keeping streets and houses clean, and planting trees. Pioneers were given the opportunity to pursue hobbies in the Houses of Pioneers and to attend literary, dramatic, and musical evenings. Pioneer study groups studied the biographies of Lenin and Stalin, the government of the U.S.S.R., and national and international events.[218] The purpose of the Pioneer organizations was to develop social consciousness and the virtues of initiative, activism, discipline, and cooperation. Pioneers were expected to fight the influence of "harmful" tradition at home and in the community.[219] In Armenia, the girl Pioneer was encouraged to help her mother with housework in order to win the sympathy and trust of parents for the organization. The Zhenotdel did what it could to encourage parents to let their children join the Pioneers and Komsomol and to provide the youth organizations with advice and training.[220] There was still

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[218]Fainsod, op. cit., pp. 249-250 and Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 92.

[219]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 234.

[220]Truzh. Zak., pp. 44-45.

another youth organization, the Octobrists, for children six to ten years. The author has no data for the activities of this organization in Armenia, but in the Soviet Union generally it was a junior version of the Young Pioneer organization.

Other Soviet Social Welfare Organizations

Besides Zhenotdel, the G.G.P.H., and the youth organizations, the Communists established a number of other official and unofficial organizations as instruments for the implementation of Communist social policies. The Commission of the Lenin Fund to combat juvenile delinquency in Transcaucasia made special allotments to the Central Executive Committee of Armenia for delinquent "re-education."[221] Orphanages were directed by the Commissariat of Education, which also had a Commission for the Social-Legal Protection of Children. This commission sought to prevent adults from exploiting children by encouraging them to beg and become prostitutes. It also judged cases of juvenile delinquency and ran a school for the re-education of convicted delinquents. It was found that during 1921-22 most juvenile crimes were thefts committed in Erivan by organized bands of orphan children.[222] The delinquency of orphans continued to be

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[221]Transcaucasia (S.F.S.R.), Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet, op. cit., p. 36.

[222]SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 120-122.

a problem in Armenia throughout the twenties.[223]

Another government agency devoted to the proper socialization of children was the Society for the Protection of Mother and Children attached to the Commissariat of Health. This institution conducted educational work for the improvement of child rearing and of sanitary conditions, provided consultations to pregnant women and mothers, and established creches, or nurseries for children up to about three years. These creches helped to free women for wage work and other labor.[224]

In order to raise the education level of women and draw them into public life, various women's clubs were established on the initiative of Zhenotdel and G.G.P.H. In these clubs courses were given to popularize Communist policies, eliminate illiteracy, improve child-rearing and hygiene, train women in craft skills, and fight "old customs." In 1926 there were twenty-six such clubs in Armenia.[225] The women's clubs were able to attract women more than other organizations because they did not violate traditional taboos against fraternizing of the sexes outside the home.

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[223]Ross, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

[224]Truzh. Zak., pp. 14, 50-52.

[225]Ibid., p. 74 and "Zhenskoe kommunisticheskoe dvizhenie v SSSR" Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Vol. XXV, 1st ed.

In the early twenties prostitutes were required to register with the government. Zhenotdel sought to retrain them for productive labor and the sick were given free hospitalization. Toward the end of the twenties the registration of prostitutes was abolished but a Board to Combat Prostitution was organized. According to an American observer, prostitution was not widespread in Armenia.[226]

By 1932 a "Society of Shefs" had been organized in Armenia for the purpose of raising the level of culture and general welfare of the villages. Each village had a shef (patron, chief) and a social committee, whose duty it was to arrange for plays, lectures, and concerts, to care for the welfare of village teachers, road construction, the improvement of public health and sanitation, and to provide special aid to peasants during the harvest season. At harvest time volunteers from the city (usually students) came out to the village, slept in the village school, homes, or the open air and entertained the villagers in the evening with plays, musicals, literary discussions, etc., in addition to helping with harvest work. The students were not paid, but the value of their earnings was estimated and put into the fund for the improvement of village life.[227]

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[226]Ross, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

[227]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 92.

Thousands of people in Soviet Armenia belonged to Soviet-approved international organizations. These included the International Society to Aid Revolutionary Fighters (M.O.P.R.), which had a membership of over 60,000 in Soviet Armenia at the end of 1929; the Armenian branch of the International Red Cross; and the Committee to Aid Armenia (Hayasdani Oknoutian Gomide, H.O.G.) which had branches in foreign countries where there were Armenian colonies. The H.O.G. helped collect funds for the reconstruction of Soviet Armenia and the settlement of refugees from the Armenian colonies abroad.[228]

From the fall of 1925 efforts were made to put athletics on an organized basis in Armenia.[229] By 1932 an organization for the encouragement of "physical culture" among youth had been formed. It organized football, wrestling matches, folk dancing and other recreation. Each member was put in charge of a group of factory workers and was responsible for interesting them in physical culture during leisure hours.[230]

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[228] Ibid., pp. 90-91 and Kom. akad. stat., p. 324.

[229] Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, p. 82.

[230] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 94.

Various clubs for working class elements were organized in Erivan, Leninakan and the mining districts. The roster of these clubs in 1932 in Erivan included the House of Peasants, the Club of Soviet and Commercial Employees, the Teachers' Club, the Building Workers' Club, the Tomsky Workers' Club, and the United Workers' Club; in Leninakan the roster included the House of Peasants, the Railroad Workers' Club, the Textile Workers' Club, and the Club for State Employees. These clubs provided reading rooms, radio and cinema facilities, and organized recreation for their members.[231] Like the other institutions described above, they also served to develop loyalties that supplemented loyalty to the kin group. The family and the church were no longer the exclusive centers of approved social activity and recreation.

Social Trends

A number of social trends in Soviet Armenia will be considered below in order to determine the extent of the impact of Soviet policies on the patterns of traditional Armenian culture.

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[231] Vsesoĭuznoe obshchestvo kul'turnoi sviazi s zagranitsei, Moscow, Guide-book for travellers through Transcaucasia (Moscow, 1932), pp. 219-220, 240.

Demographic trends.--A summary of the principal demographic trends in Armenia between 1897 and 1936 is given in Table 5. The total population in 1936 had increased by 50% of the total population in 1897. By 1922 the proportion of Armenians in the total population had increased to 84.9%, mostly due to the anti-Tartar policies of the Dashnak government. After the war there was still a surplus of males in the total population.

The density of population per square kilometer of land increased from 27.1 in 1922 to 41.1 in 1936. The area of cultivable land per capita rural population decreased from 1.0 hectares in 1922 to 0.72 hectares in 1936.[232]

The age distribution of the population remained fairly constant, although there was a 5% decrease in the proportion of the male population aged 20-49 years between 1897 and 1922. Most of this loss may be attributed to military casualties.[233]

The infant mortality rate of Armenia in 1936 was less than one-third that of 1897. The annual net reproduction rate rose to 38 persons per 1,000 population in 1931. Between 1926 and 1939 the annual net reproduction

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[232]The cultivable land totaled 6321.2 square kilometers, according to SA 1923-1927, pp. 2-3.

[233]SA 1923-1927, p. 19.

TABLE 5

POPULATION TRENDS IN THE TERRITORY OF SOVIET ARMENIA, 1897-1936

Indices	1897[a]	1922	1926	1931	1936 est.
1. Total Population	797,853[b]	781,011[c]	880,464[d]	1,050,633[e]	1,187,000[d]
Of this,					
a. Armenians	510,855[b]	671,450[c]	743,571[d]	883,348[e]	998,100[d]
	64.0%	85.9%	84.5%	84.1%	84.0%
b. Males	426,717[b]	395,538[c]	448,674[f]	.....[o]	.....
	53.5%	50.6%	50.9%		
c. Urban	82,165[g]	143,823[c]	157,542[d]	232,235[h]	310,300[d]
	10.3%	18.4%	17.9%	22.1%	26.1%
d. Density per square Kilometer of land[i]	27.7	27.1	30.5	36.4	41.1
2. Age Distribution[j]					
a. 0-19 years	51.7%	51.3%	51.4%	.....	.....
b. 20-39 years	30.4%	27.7%	28.0%	.....	.....
c. 40-59 years	13.1%	14.6%	13.9%	.....	.....
d. 60 or more years	4.7%	6.4%	6.5%	.....	.....
3. Infant Mortality: deaths per 1,000 live births before 1 year[k]	253	.....	105	.....	75
4. Births per 1,000 population	.....	38.0[l]	54.2[l]	.....	.....
Deaths " " "	.....	12.8[l]	17.3[l]	.....	.....
Net Natural Increase "	21.0[m]	25.2[l]	36.9[l]	38.0[m]	32.2[n]

a. Population in the territory later included in Soviet Armenia.

b. Z. Gorgodian, Khorhrtayin Hayasdani pnagchoutyoune verchin haryourmiagoum (1831-1931) (Erivan, 1932), pp. 164-165.

c. Transcaucasia (S.F.S.R.), Vysshii ekonomicheskii sovet, Zakavkaz'e: statistiko-ekonomicheskii sbornik (Tiflis, 1925), pp. 151 and 154.

d. Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozяistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1935), pp. 18 and 23.

e. Gorgodian, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

f. Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaя Armeniя v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1928), pp. 12-13.

g. G. Pichikian, Narodnoe khozяistvo i kooperatsiя Armenii (Tiflis, 1927), p. 3.

h. Armenia, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh, p. 22.

i. Not including Lake Sevan.

j. Armenia, Sovetskaя Armeniя v tsifrakh, p. 19.

k. Armenia, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh, p. 24.

l. Armenia, Sovetskaя Armeniя v tsifrakh, p. 21. Data in the "1922" column refers to 1923.

m. Gorgodian, op. cit., p. 132.

n. S. Dimanshtein, "O stakhanovite dvizhenie v natsional'nykh respublikakh," Revolюtsiя i Natsional'nosti, No. 2 (1936), p. 20.

o. No data available, indicated by .....

rate of Armenians in Soviet Armenia averaged 40 per 1,000 population, while the average rate for the Soviet Union as a whole was only 11.4 per thousand.[234] The Armenian net reproduction rate was the highest in the USSR.[235] While the population of Soviet Armenia increased by 46% during 1926-1939, the population of the Soviet Union as a whole increased by only 15.9%.[236] Lorimer estimates that about three-fourths of the population increase in Armenia can be accounted for by natural reproduction.[237]

Reproduction in Armenia was more rapid in the Soviet period than in the Tsarist period. An official Armenian government report estimated that the average annual net reproduction rate in the area of Soviet Armenia was 13 per 1,000 population in 1901-1914 and 32 per thousand in 1923-1935.[238] This can be partly

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[234]V. A. Sarafian, "The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule," Armenian Review, VI, No. 3, (1953), 120.

[235]S. G. Garabedian, Sovedagan Hayasdan [Soviet Armenia] (Erivan, 1940), p. 48.

[236]Lorimer, op. cit., p. 162.

[237]Ibid., p. 169.

[238]Armenia, 15 let, p. 24.

attributed to the increase in material prosperity in Armenia in the Soviet period, but there were also intangible factors at work. There was the desire to make up for the frightful losses to the nation during the massacres and wars of 1914-1921.[239] In addition, fertility was highly valued in traditional Armenian culture. Traditional values had a firmer position in rural areas of Armenia than in urban areas, and in 1926 the reproduction rate was 39.0 per thousand in rural areas and 26.2 in urban areas.[240]

Armenia remained a predominantly rural country, despite the increase in its urban population. The proportion of rural to total population was 82.1% in 1926 and 71.5% in 1939.[241] Whereas there was a 5% decrease in the absolute number of rural inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. during 1926-1939, the rural population of Armenia increased by 28%.[242] At the same time the urban population increased by 119% in Armenia and only 112% in the U.S.S.R. as a whole.[243] In 1926 over half of the

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[239]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 107.

[240]SA 1923-1927, p. 21.

[241]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 47.

[242]Lorimer, op. cit., p. 158.

[243]Ibid., p. 154.

urban inhabitants of Armenia had not been born in the town where they were living.[244]

During the twenties the lack of industry in Armenia resulted in seasonal immigrations of the rural population to do wage work in the urban centers of Azerbaijan and Georgia. It was reported in November, 1923, that 20,000 persons from Zangezur had left to work in Baku and Transcaspia and many more were leaving each day.[245] In December, 1926, there were about 29,000 persons temporarily absent from Armenia.[246] During the spring and fall, when agricultural labor was in greatest demand, much of the Armenian "industrial proletariat" returned to the villages to work.

It was found in 1926 that 21% of the total Armenian population of Soviet Armenia had been born outside the borders of the country.[247] This percentage must have been considerably higher at the time of Sovietization. Most of the foreign born were probably Turkish Armenian refugees.

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[244]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Otdel perepisi, Vsesoîûznaîa perepis'naseleniîa 1926 goda (Moscow, 1932) XLVIII, 215. Hereafter cited as Russia 1926 perepis'.

[245]Shaginian, Sovetskaia Armeniia, p. 123.

[246]SA 1923-1927, p. 20.

[247]Russia 1926 perepis', XLVIII, 202.

Soviet policies influenced the above demographic trends in the following ways: (1) peace and an element of economic security were provided for the masses of people of Armenia, who began to reproduce at an unprecedented rate; (2) the failure of the Soviets to develop extensive large-scale industry in Armenia during the twenties resulted in considerable seasonal emigration from rural areas to industrial centers outside Armenia; (3) the restoration of agricultural production in Armenia to pre-war levels contributed to the especially rapid increase in the rural population; (4) the hospitality shown to Turkish Armenian refugees in Soviet Armenia accounted for the fact that one-fifth of the population in 1926 had been born outside the country.

Trends in occupation distribution.--A summary of the changes in occupational distribution of Armenians between 1897 and 1926 is given in Table 6. The data for 1897 relates to Armenians in the Russian Empire as a whole, about 95% of whom were in Transcaucasia. The 1926 data relates to Armenians in Transcaucasia. The categories of the 1926 data were adjusted by the author to correspond to the categories of the 1897 data. Therefore the comparison is only approximate.

Between 1897 and 1926 the proportion of Armenians who were farmers, farmhands, domestic servants, merchants, and rentiers decreased, while in industry and the professions

TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN 1897 AND 1926

Categories	In Absolute Numbers, 1926[a]			Percentages	
	Self-supporting	Dependents	Total	1926[a]	1897[b]
1. Agriculture	178,779	705,143	883,922	66.92	71.27
2. Industry	56,573	124,366	180,939	13.69	10.58
3. Commerce, communication, transportation	29,622	75,476	105,098	7.96	8.48
4. Day labor, domestic service	9,473	18,014	27,487	2.08	4.12
5. Professions	29,373	44,244	73,617	5.57	2.42
6. Rentiers, pensioners	15,858	4,380	20,238	1.53	2.24
7. Unknown, undefined	13,640	16,002	29,642	2.24	1.00

a. Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Otdel perepisi, Vsesoiuznaia perepis'naseleniia 1926 goda, XXXI (Moscow, 1930), 2-3 and passim. Data refers to Armenians in Transcaucasia.

b. Data for Armenians in the Russian Empire, as given in B. Ishkhanian, Narodnosti Kavkaza (Petrograd, 1916), p. 67. At this time (1897) about 95% of all Armenians in the Russian Empire were in Transcaucasia.

it increased. The latter two categories of workers were especially favored by Soviet policies. But these trends can be partly attributed to the spread of education and industrialization in the early nineteenth century.

In Table 7 a comparison is made between the occupation distribution of Armenians in Soviet Armenia and that of the total population of the Soviet Union in 1926. The proportion of family members helping in various occupations, mainly agriculture, was significantly greater among Armenians in Soviet Armenia than the proportion among the total population of the Soviet Union as a whole. The proportion of proprietors with hired workers (kulaki, master artisans) was also greater among Armenians in Soviet Armenia. There were proportionally fewer hired workers, clerks, and professional men among the Armenians of Soviet Armenia than among the population of the Soviet Union as a whole.

The total population of Soviet Armenia in 1926 was distributed among social classes by Soviet definition, as follows: (1) proletarians (industrial workers, engineers and technical workers, farmhands, workers in commerce, transport, construction, socio-cultural institutions and government staff), 12.69%; (2) collective farmers and cooperating artisans, 0.08%; (3) independent peasants (not including kulaki) and non-cooperating workers and artisans, 76.19%; (4) bourgeoisie (landowners, rentiers, merchants,

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN SOVIET ARMENIA AND OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926

Occupational Categories	Armenians in Soviet Armenia[a]	Total Population of the Soviet Union[b]
1. Rabochie: manual workers, employed for wages	6.2%	8.69%
2. Sluzhashchie: clerks and other salaried employees	4.13%	6.23%
3. Persons in the liberal professions	0.14%	0.25%
4. Proprieters with hired labor	2.79%	1.63%
5. Proprieters with family help only	22.17%	39.56%
6. Self-employed, working alone	7.42%	6.45%
7. Members of families helping in occupations	51.46%	32.96%
8. Living on unearned income or of unknown occupation	3.89%	1.81%
9. Unemployed	0.72%	1.13%
10. Persons in military service	1.08%	0.52%

a. Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniîu natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika V.K.P. (b) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), p. 50.

b. Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Otdel perepisi, Vsesoîûznaîa perepis'naseleniîa 1926 goda, XXXIV (Moscow, 1930), 2.

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1926*

Occupational Category	Self-supporting			Dependent			Total
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1. Rabochie: manual workers, employed for wages	20,064	2,822	22,886	10,786	20,404	31,190	54,076
2. Sluzhashchie: clerks, other salaried employees	11,564	3,662	15,226	8,604	16,762	25,366	40,592
3. Persons in the Liberal professions	457	43	500	283	547	830	1,330
4. Proprieters with hired labor (kulaks, master artisans)	9,002	1,290	10,292	11,001	17,924	28,295	39,217
5. Proprieters working only with help from their families (farmers, artisans)	75,446	6,339	81,785	90,198	115,375	205,573	287,358
6. Self-employed, working alone	23,686	3,709	27,395	24,207	45,566	69,773	97,168
7. Members of families helping in occupations	71,131	118,726	189,857	.....	.....	.....	189,857
8. Living on unearned income, unknown occupation	6,959	7,394	14,353	1,245	1,773	3,018	17,371
9 Unemployed	1,849	793	2,642	935	1,869	2,804	5,446
10 Persons in military service	4,001	.....	4,001	299	769	1,068	5,069
	224,159	144,778	368,937	150,929	223,705	368,547	743,571

*Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Otdel perepisi, Vsesoiuznaia perepis'naseleniia 1926 goda, XXXI (Moscow, 1930), 232-233.

kulaki), 7.62%; (5) others (students, soldiers, pensioners, etc.), 3.42%.[248]

The self-supporting proletariat of Armenia, in its broadest sense (including clerks and government employees), amounted to less than 2% of the total population in 1922. By 1928 it still constituted only 4.5% of the total population.[249] Therefore, mass support for the Communist regime in Armenia had to be enlisted mainly from the peasantry, the vast majority of which were small independent cultivators.

Rural and urban life.--After the land reform of the early twenties the life of the villages of Armenia was relatively untouched by the Soviet regime for many years. Villagers continued to settle their differences according to customary law, with the arbitration of the village headman. There were some changes, however. At the end of the twenties European dress had become widespread among the peasants.[250] Consumer cooperatives were founded in many villages. In a few exceptional places, such as Megri, European furniture, record players, and pianos were found. Newspapers, magazines and books became more numerous in the countryside. Libraries, reading rooms, and social clubs were established in many villages. The total number

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[248] Armenia. 15 let, p. 25. [249] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[250] F. Nansen, Armenia and the Near East (New York, 1928), p. 136.

of rural clubs of various kinds increased from about thirty-seven in 1922 to 189 in 1928.[251]

In some villages the wealthier peasants were deprived of civil rights. Shaginian reports that civil rights were soon restored to the old, prosperous inhabitants of Megri, but that their self-esteem had been dealt a cruel blow.[252]

Urban life, on the other hand, underwent a radical transformation. The main streets of Erivan and Leninakan were paved and new buildings were constructed. The influx of population from the countryside into these towns created a severe housing shortage. At the end of the twenties no one in Erivan had the legal right to more than two square meters of living space--the same amount as was allowed for churchyard graves.[253] Seventy-eight large apartment buildings, each capable of housing 100 or more persons, had been built in Erivan, Leninakan, Vagharshapat, and Stepanavan by 1926.[254] By the end of 1926, 5% of all urban

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[251]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissia, Tsentralnoe upravlenie narodnokhoziaistvenhogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v SSSR [Cultural Construction in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1940), p. 160. Hereafter cited as Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940.

[252]Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e, p. 94.

[253]Nansen, op. cit., p. 116.

[254]SA 1923-1927, pp. 262-263.

inhabitants had access to running water at home and 24.4% had electricity at home.[255]

Recreational facilities were expanded in Erivan and Leninakan. By 1932 Erivan had a park which included sports fields, a shooting gallery, an open air theater, a restaurant and a cafe; six clubs, two cinemas, five museums, three public libraries, a large theater, and a House of Culture, including a concert hall.[256] The facilities of Leninakan included a cafe-restaurant, municipal gardens, a dramatic theater, a concert hall, a cinema, four clubs, and a library.[257] The total number of urban clubs in Armenia increased from thirteen in 1922 to forty-three in 1928.[258]

At the end of the twenties the traffic in the streets of Erivan continued until midnight. Shops were crowded. University classes in Erivan did not begin until five P.M. for the convenience of working students. Concerts were given in the evenings in the House of Culture and lectures were given in the clubs. Beginning at eight P.M.

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[255] Ibid., pp. 260-261.

[256] Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo kul'turnoi sviazi s zagranitsei, Moscow, Guide-book for travellers through Transcaucasia, pp. 240-247, passim.

[257] Ibid., pp. 219-220.

[258] Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940, p. 160.

the government theater and the two cinemas were filled with spectators. There were no dancehalls or bars.[259] The overwhelming majority of the population of the town consisted of Armenians.

Marriage, divorce, and the family.--Soviet policies also began to have an effect on the organization and life of the Armenian family during the twenties. The extended patriarchal family still survived in the villages, but was tending to disappear.[260] According to the census of 1926, the average rural family included five persons and the average urban family, four persons.[261] However, the director of the Armenian census bureau declared in 1932 that large families were still common in Armenia and that families of twelve to eighteen children were not rare in the villages.[262]

As a result of Soviet policies directed against early marriage, the number of girls married

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[259]H. Hagopian, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[260]P. Descamps, "La formation sociale des Arméniens," La Science Sociale, Ann. XLI, per. 3, fasc. 5 (1926), pp. 108-109.

[261]SA 1923-1927, pp. 7 and 20.

[262]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 107.

before the age of seventeen years decreased from 2.5% of the total known brides in 1924 to 0.9% in 1926. However, 70% of all brides in Soviet Armenia in 1926 were nineteen years old or less. Only eight grooms in Soviet Armenia in 1926 were less than eighteen years of age, but 59% of all grooms were twenty-five years old or less.[263] It may be concluded that girls in Armenia married fairly close to the legal minimum age, whereas marriages involving girls under sixteen years and boys under eighteen years virtually disappeared from the official records.

Eastern Armenians and Armenian refugees from Turkey intermarried frequently, but marriages between Armenians and non-Armenians were rare.[264] Only ten of the 6,515 Armenian brides in Armenia in 1926 married a non-Armenian man and only twenty-five of the 6,528 Armenian grooms married a non-Armenian woman.[265] In contrast, in the R.S.F.S.R., 12.6% of all Armenian brides and 32.1% of all Armenian grooms married a person not of their own nationality.[266]

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[263] Lorimer, op. cit., p. 94 and SA 1923-1927, p. 29.

[264] Ross, op. cit., p. 36.

[265] SA 1923-1927, p. 28.

[266] Kom. akad. stat., p. 28.

In Soviet Armenia, both the availability of Armenian mates and the greater strength of national custom facilitated the survival of the custom of ethnic endogamy.

Despite the leniency of the Soviet divorce law, the number of persons resorting to divorce in Armenia remained exceptionally low. On the basis of incomplete data there were 172 divorces in 1922,[267] and 494 in 1923.[268] There were 576 divorces and 7,653 marriages in 1926.[269] In 1927 the number of divorces decreased to 550, while the number of marriages increased to 8,110.[270]

According to the census of December, 1926, only 0.4% of all Armenian males over fifteen years and 0.2% of all Armenian females over fifteen years in Soviet Armenia were divorcés.[271] In contrast, 0.9% of all males over fifteen and 0.4% of all females over fifteen in the Soviet Union as a whole were divorcés at the time of the census.[272] It is also interesting to note that the proportion of divorcés among the Armenian rural inhabitants in Soviet Armenia who were over fifteen years of age was only 0.2% in 1926, whereas the

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[267] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 17.

[268] SA 1923-1927, p. 27. [269] Ibid.

[270] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 178.

[271] Russia 1926 perepis', XLVIII, 188-189.

[272] Ibid., XXXIV, 3-10.

proportion among Armenians in Erivan over fifteen years of age was 0.5%.[273] It was reported in May, 1928, that a number of Party members who had come from the villages to Erivan for work had divorced their wives on the grounds of "incompatibility." It was stated that some urban Party members changed wives several times within a short period.[274]

The condition of women.--Toward the end of the twenties there was an increase in the number of "traditional" crimes which were prosecuted in Soviet Armenian courts. Prison sentences up to two years and fines were imposed in 231 cases of "traditional" crimes in 1926. Of the total persons convicted, 212 were peasants. Of the 231 crimes, 126 involved marriage to a minor, five involved compulsion of a woman to marry, forty-four involved abduction of a woman, and four involved bride-purchase.[275]

Prior to Soviet times abortions were rare in Armenia, for in villages hardly anything could be kept secret and abortion violated traditional mores. During the war years, when the shortage of food became acute, the number of secret abortions increased. In Soviet times abortion was legalized, but secret abortion continued. This may be accounted for by the fact that women with few or no children were not permitted to have a free, legal

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[273] Ibid., LXVIII, 189 and 192.

[274] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 176.

[275] Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

abortion; besides, some women preferred abortion by midwives who used a comparatively safe procedure established by ancient custom. Only sixty-one of the 284 women who in 1926 applied for a legal abortion in Erivan were refused, but in the same year the Women's Clinic handled 346 cases of incomplete illegal abortion. The wives of government workers in Erivan resorted proportionally less to secret abortion than wives of men unconnected with the government: only 45% of secret abortions concerned wives of Soviet employees, who accounted for 71% of legal abortion cases. The total number of abortion cases admitted in the Erivan Women's Clinic increased from 397 in 1920 to 2,025 in 1926.[276] The largest number of abortions were performed on women from areas of greatest land scarcity, such as the Lori district.

The Communist policy of drawing women into wage-paying work had only limited success in Soviet Armenia. There were not enough jobs for the women who wanted them. Employers preferred not to hire women, and women could not do the heavy manual labor in public works established for the unemployed. In 1925 women constituted 20.6% of all workers employed from the labor exchange of Erivan, at a time when women constituted 41.4% of the total unemployed.[277]

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[276] Ibid., pp. 177-181.

[277] Truzh. Zak., pp. 27, 31, and 33.

The number of women manual workers in industry did increase, however, from 6.4% of total industrial manual workers in January, 1925, to 14.7% in January, 1928.[278]

The occupational distribution of Armenian women in Transcaucasia in 1926, and in the Russian Empire in 1897, is given in Table 9. The number of self-supporting women increased from 3.6% in 1897 to 6.8% in 1926. Only one-third of all self-supporting Armenian women in 1926 were employed in industry, commerce, communication, transportation and the professions. There were only 17,865 independent self-supporting Armenian women in Soviet Armenia in 1926 (see Table 8, categories 1-7).

The Soviet policy of drawing women into political life also had only limited success in Armenia during the twenties. In 1927 only 4.4% of all Armenian members of the All-Union Communist Party were women, and only 5.3% of all members and candidates of the Communist Party of Armenia were women.[279] The proportion of women in the total membership of the village soviets of Armenia increased from 6.6% in 1925 to 14.6% in 1929. The proportion of women in city soviets increased from 10% in 1925 to 16.2% in 1929.[280]

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[278] SA 1923-1927, pp. 144-146 and 385.

[279] V.K.P. Sostav, 1927, pp. 139-141.

[280] S. Kotlarevskii, "Desiat let Sovetskoi Armenii" [Ten Years of Soviet Armenia] Sovetskoe Stroitel'stvo, No. 12 (1930), p. 111.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN WOMEN IN 1897 AND 1926, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Categories	1897[a]			1926[b]		
	Self-supporting	Dependent	Total	Self-supporting	Dependent	Total
1. Agriculture	25.9	75.1	73.3	35.8	69.6	67.2
2. Industry	19.4	9.3	9.7	14.3	13.3	13.1
3. Commerce, communication, transportation	3.7	8.0	7.9	5.3	8.2	8.0
4. Day labor, domestic service	13.1	3.1	3.5	6.9	1.9	2.2
5. Professions	2.5	2.0	2.0	13.9	4.9	5.5
6. Rentiers, pensioners	26.5	1.8	2.7	15.5	0.5	1.5
7. Unknown, undefined	8.8	0.7	1.0	8.2	1.7	2.2
TOTAL	19,872	532,347	552,219	44,283	605,878	650,161
	3.6%	96.4%	100.0%	6.8%	93.2%	100.0%

a. Data for Armenian women in the Russian Empire, as given by B. Ishkhanian, Narodnosti Kavkaza (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 66-67. In 1897 about 95% of Armenians in the Russian Empire were in Transcaucasia.

b. Data for Armenian women in Transcaucasia, as given in Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Otdel perepisi, Vsesoĭuznaĭa perepis' naseleniĭa 1926 goda, XXXI (Moscow, 1930), 2-3 and passim.

The rate of literacy among Armenian females over nine years of age in Soviet Armenia remained low in the twenties. In December, 1926, only 15.4% of all Armenian females were literate, whereas the overall literacy rate among Armenians in Soviet Armenia was 27.1%.[281] Only 8.7% of Armenian village females were literate in 1926.[282]

Girls constituted about 32% of all pupils in general elementary and secondary schools in Armenia throughout the twenties.[283] In 1927-28 girls constituted only 27% of all pupils in rural general elementary and secondary schools.[284]

The freeing of women for wage-paying jobs in Armenia by the establishment of nurseries and pre-schools was of limited significance. In 1928 only about 2% of the

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[281] SA 1923-1927, p. 32.

[282] R. Kherumian, Introduction à l'anthropologie du Caucase: Les Arméniens, (Paris, 1943), p. 26.

[283] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 115; SA Coms, 1922-1923, p. 257; Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940, p. 65.

[284] Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodnokhozîaistvennogo ucheta, Zhenshchina v SSSR [Woman in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, 1936), p. 107. Hereafter cited as Zhenshchina v SSSR.

children of pre-school age in Armenia were in pre-schools.[285] The number of children in pre-school institutions was only 2,331 in 1921-22 and 3,781 in 1928-29. Of these, only 685 were village children. There were only 2,180 children in summer playgrounds and camps in 1928.[286]

Reactions to Soviet Social Policies

Among the workers and intellectuals who constituted the elite of Soviet Armenia there was enthusiastic support of the Soviet regime. A copper miner who was a party member declared in 1932:

> The Party is my salvation. I am thirty-eight years old. Three years ago I knew neither how to read nor how to write. Now I am literate. I am the president of the club. I work six hours. I go home and change and dress. I have plenty of time in the evening for myself. I go to the club, I get myself educated. I work four days and rest on the fifth.[287]

Some Soviet policies, such as the building of irrigation canals, were received with general enthusiasm. Several American observers at the opening of the Shirak Canal in March, 1925, agreed that the large crowd attending

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[285] Zakavkazskoe soveshchanie po voprosam organizatsionno-massovoi raboty sovetov, Tiflis, 1928, Zakavkazskoe soveshchanie po voprosam organizatsionno-massovoi raboty sovetov, 10-15 iiulia 1928 [Transcaucasian Conference on Problems of Mass-Organizational Work of the Soviets, July 10-15, 1928] (Tiflis, 1928), p. 99. Hereafter cited as Zak. sov. rab., 1928.

[286] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 198-199.

[287] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 162.

was excited and grateful. A train carrying Rykov, Chicherin, other members of the central government of the U.S.S.R., and the Armenian authorities was stopped at every station so that the thousands of peasants assembled could chat with the officials and greet them with Armenian folk music. More than 50,000 persons met the train in Leninakan.[288] A great migration of people of all ages, on foot and in ox carts, all in a merry mood, moved out to the Canal for the opening ceremonies. After the sluice gates were opened, an old peasant sat with closed eyes on the edge of the ditch where the water was flowing. "Uncle, the water is here, your feet are wet," people called to him. He replied, "Let them be wet, I have waited for this all my life."[289] It is doubtful, however, that all Soviet policies enjoyed such enthusiastic support among the masses of the population. During the twenties the traditional institutions and patterns of behavior of Armenian society showed a remarkable resistance to change.

The effect of Soviet policies on Armenian family customs was quite limited. One visitor to Soviet Armenia in the early thirties stated, "[In Armenia] old forms of marriage and family life still prevail.[290] Another visitor

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[288] The New York Times, March 12, 1925, 5:2.

[289] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 121

[290] Ibid., p. 106.

declared, "Men and women have equal rights before the law; but the Armenian traditional way of life continues inside the family."[291] The extremely low divorce rate, the continuing practise of ethnic endogamy, the prevalance of secret rather than legal abortion, and the persistence of "traditional crimes" serve as evidence of the resistance to change of the patterns of traditional Armenian culture.

Throughout the twenties Armenian peasant women continued to cover the lower part of their face before going out in public.[292] The low proportion of girls and women in the membership of soviets, the Komsomol and Pioneer Organization, and the Communist Party has already been mentioned, as has the low rate of literacy and school attendance among Armenian women and girls. Women seldom attended village soviet meetings in Armenia. After visiting a village in the Lori district a Party member reported in 1928 that women members of the village soviet did not attend soviet meetings except in the company of their husbands; and according to the women of this village, "if we go to the sessions of the village soviet they call us good-for-nothing, immoral..." In 1928 it was reported that there were still no branches of the Commission for the Improvement of the Way of Life of Women in the villages

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[291]Boghossian, op. cit., p. 40.

[292]Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e, p. 87.

of the Lori district and that village soviets were almost completely uninterested in the work of the Commission.[293]

Throughout the twenties there were frequent reports at Party meetings of the "defects in the work among women" in Armenia. At the First Congress of Transcaucasian Party Organizations in 1922 it was reported that many Party members had a "contemptuous" and "criminally light-minded" attitude toward the work of emancipating women.[294] Weakness in Party work among women was again reported at the Fourth Congress of Transcaucasian Communist Organizations.[295] The lack of participation of women in political life was a matter of special concern at the Transcaucasian Conference on Mass Organizational Work of the Soviets in 1928.[296]

A general index of resistance to Soviet policies is the record of crimes committed in Soviet Armenia during the twenties. According to incomplete official data, there were 2,709 cases of persons convicted of undermining the labor laws in Soviet Armenia between 1922 and 1929.[297]

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[293] Zak. sov. rab., 1928, pp. 111 and 134.

[294] Pervyi Kom. s'ezd Zak., 1922, pp. 266 and 292.

[295] Truzh. Zak., p. 80

[296] Zak. sov. rab., 1928, p. 192.

[297] Khachigoghlian, op. cit., p. 17.

In 1924 there were 280 crimes committed in the performance of official duties, (such as grafting), 148 crimes "against the administrative order" and four "political crimes."[298] In 1926 there were 255 crimes in the performance of official duties and 2,515 crimes against the administrative order.[299] According to incomplete data, between 1923 and the middle of 1926 there were 6,560 crimes committed against the administrative order (including tax evasion, contempt of authority, violation of laws relating to industry and commerce, violation of laws for the protection of forests and game, and violation of the laws of public order).[300] In 1932 an Armenian Communist told a visitor to Armenia,

> This generation must suffer because it cannot be saved. This is not the fault of communism but the fault of the regime which went before.[301]

Soviet social policies did enjoy a limited success in Armenia during the twenties, as indicated by the slow but steady trend toward the emancipation of women, the growth of an indigenous Armenian proletariat and the growth of the urban population. The Armenian peasantry did not

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[298] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 173.

[299] Russia (U.S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Statisticheskii spravochnik SSSR, 1928 [Statistical Guide of the USSR, 1928] (Moscow, 1929), pp. 890-891.

[300] SA 1923-1927, pp. 48-49.

[301] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 136.

become completely hostile to the Soviet regime: a former army officer of the Armenian Republic told an American Near East Relief worker,

> The Red flag is symbolic to the peasant of a relentless mastery of ideas and purposes beyond his comprehension; and yet the flag, such as it is, is the only hope he has for the time being of a termination to the stagnation in serfdom that has been his lot under alien masters.[302]

Cultural Developments

Soviet Cultural Policies

Soviet cultural policies were directed toward the achievement of three principal goals: (1) the development of loyalty to the Soviet regime, its ideology and its values; (2) the spreading among the masses of knowledge essential for the maintenance of the Soviet regime; and (3) the training of a new generation of Soviet specialists.[303] The whole cultural life of Soviet Armenia was under the official direction of the Commissariat of Education, which controlled the radio, cinema, press, theater, schools and all other mass communication.[304]

The Communists realized that one of the best ways to win support in Armenia was the encouragement of Armenian

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[302] Hartill, op. cit., p. 305.

[303] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 78 and M. J. Shore, Soviet Education (New York, 1947), p. 134.

[304] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 70.

national literature, music and art and the use of the Armenian language. In this way they sought to redirect Armenian nationalist aspirations away from political objectives. Nationalist feeling was exceeding strong among the Armenian intelligentsia in the twenties. At the Second Congress of Soviets of Armenia in 1923 it was reported that the Armenian intelligentsia were chiefly interested in the question of increasing the extent of Armenian territory at the expense of Turkey and that they burned for revenge.[305] The London Times reported in October, 1923, that Armenians had attacked the Turkish mission in Erivan and pulled down the flag.[306]

At the symbolic level the Communists sought to assuage this nationalist bitterness. The official emblem of Soviet Armenia included a representation of Mt. Ararat, which was actually across the border in Turkey. When the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs complained about this, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, declared,

> After all, the Turks have the crescent and the star for their national emblem, but of course it does not signify that the Turks own the moon and the stars, or have any pretensions to such ownership.[307]

The Communists did not champion the political aims of Armenian nationalism, however. The editor of an

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[305]Borian, op. cit., II, 161.

[306]The Times (London), October 23, 1923, 11:6.

[307]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 39.

important Soviet Armenian literary magazine declared, "The core, the contents of our political belief must transcend national barriers and must be proletarian."[308] A young Armenian government official declared in 1931:

> The revolutionist on the front line can have not nationalistic preferences....Our enthusiasm is for the whole Soviet Union.[309]

When asked why all the leaders of Soviet Armenia were, without exception, Armenians, he proceeded to define the essence of Soviet nationality policy:

> Armenian Communists are of the people and know the customs and the language and the mentality of the people. We are realists. We must begin with the people, take them along at their own cultural level and with their own cultural independence. The international outlook is the future ideal, not the immediate one.[310]

Another statement of this young official shows the extent to which Armenian cultural nationalism was tolerated during the twenties. He declared,

> There is no reason why one group should impose its culture on another. If Russia was to impose its culture on Armenia I would be the first to fight it.[311]

The official language of the Armenian Republic was the Eastern Armenian literary language. Armenian was employed in governmental administration and in all schools except those established for the Tartar and other minorities in Soviet Armenia. In 1922 a new orthography for the

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[308] Ibid., p. 89. [309] Ibid., p. 120.

[310] Ibid. [311] Ibid.

Armenian language was introduced (See Appendix I).[312] New scientific and political Armenian terms were devised.[313] Many places with names of Turkish or of Tsarist origin in Soviet Armenia were given names of Armenian form or origin. Dzhelal-ogly became Stepanavan, Allaverdi became Surenakan, Elenovka became Sevan, Alexandropol became Leninakan, etc. (See Appendix III). Armenian philologists and etymologists were encouraged in their work.[314] The precious Armenian manuscripts at Echmiadzin were nationalized, transferred to Erivan, and subjected to careful scientific study.[315]

At the same time the impact of the Russian language began to be felt in Armenia. By 1932 Russian was an obligatory subject in all schools of technology and higher education of Soviet Armenia.[316] The language of journals, especially official and technical journals, became loaded with Russian words.[317] Trade union publications kept all

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[312] H. Thorossian, Histoire de la littérature arménienne (Paris, 1951), p. 342.

[313] Borian, op. cit., II, 160.

[314] C. A. Vertanes, Armenia Reborn (New York, 1947), p. 89.

[315] Zhizn' Natsional'nostei, Nos. 3-4 (1923), p. 203.

[316] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 77.

[317] Thorossian, op. cit., p. 342.

the technical terminology of Russian.[318] Many words which had been borrowed from English and French by the Russians were now introduced into the Armenian language. The author has compiled a list of foreign words used in Soviet Armenia, which is given in Appendix II. Some representative examples are: gomisariad (commissariat), gomounisdagan (communist), goulag (kulak), indeligentsia (intelligentsia), broledar (proletarian), pourzhoua-natsionalisdagan (bourgeois nationalist), soved (soviet), gollekia (collegium), tsekh (workshop), ardel (artel) and padrag (farmhand).

The development of Armenian literature, music and art was promoted by policy of encouraging Armenian writers, musicians, artists, and scholars of the diaspora to come to live and work in Soviet Armenia. Among those who did come were Alexander Spendarian, the musician; Alexander Tamanian, the architect; Martiros Sarian, the painter; Hrachia Ajarian, the philologist; Hagop Manantian, the historian; Avetik Isahakian and Eghishe Charents, the poets; and Alexander Shirvanzade, the novelist. These men made many valuable contributions to Armenian culture.[319]

The Soviet School System

The Soviet school system was the principal instrument in the hands of the government for the execution

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[318] Borian, op. cit., II, 160.

[319] Vertanes, op. cit., p. 40 and Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, pp. 137 and 158.

of its cultural policies. The pre-Soviet school system was reorganized, re-equipped, and expanded. New teaching methods and curricula were introduced. The school system was designed to indoctrinate children and adults with the new Soviet values: the dignity of labor and useful production, the importance of the collective welfare, and the use of initiative, self-control, and self-expression to contribute to community welfare.[320] Soviet educators in the twenties believed that the child was basically good, rational, and cooperative and that his personality should be allowed to develop freely. The schools were to guide pupils, set a good example before them and direct their potential powers along proper paths--but the schools should not impose any rigid external standards on the child's personality.[321]

The school was to prepare the children for life, and should therefore present life as it is. Learning was to be as practical as possible, through participation in the social and economic activities of the community.[322]

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[320] K. A. Sarafian, A History of Education in Armenia (La Verne, California, 1930), p. 286 and Widmayer, op. cit., p. 34.

[321] Widmayer, op. cit., p. 430.

[322] K. A. Sarafian, "The New Education in the Republic of Armenia," School and Society, XXXIX, (1934), 120.

Arithmetic and other tools of knowledge were to be learned only when the pupil became aware of the need for them.[323] The schools were to build "the all-round harmonious personality," but at the same time they were to prepare a generation of loyal and enthusiastic citizens.[324] There was a fetish of developing "collective spirit" in the school. The child's total environment, rather than the classroom alone, was to be his educator.[325]

In the early twenties coeducation was established in all schools of Soviet Armenia.[326] The schools were completely secularized and religious teaching was forbidden in them.[327] Religious instruction, other than that given by parents, was prohibited for all children under the age of eighteen years.[328]

Toward the middle of the twenties a new kind of pedagogy was tried out in Soviet Armenia. It centered around the synthetic method (also known as the complex method, the project method, and the Dalton Plan), which was first used in the United States and introduced in Russia

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[323]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 325. [324]Ibid., p. iii.

[325]Ibid., pp. 425 and 428.

[326]SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 116.

[327]Constitution of 1922, as amended to 1926, Art. 6.

[328]L. Arpee, A History of Armenian Christianity (New York, 1946), p. 307.

in 1923.[329] According to the synthetic method, the teacher would first present certain aspects of a problem to the pupils. The teacher had in mind a detailed plan for the solution of the problem, but used indirect methods to lead the students into adopting this plan. The teacher then found out the actual knowledge of each pupil in various aspects of the problem. Each pupil was urged to express his attitude toward the problem and his experiences with it. Finally the students gathered new data by observation and experiment. For this purpose excursions, research, and the collection of concrete data were arranged. The problem was finally solved and the solution was presented in synthetic form with diagrams and statistical tables.[330] The synthetic method could not be employed in all schools of Armenia, for not all teachers had been properly trained to use it.[331]

All general elementary and secondary instruction was integrated around a central theme: human labor. Since an understanding of human labor required a knowledge of the productive forces utilized by man, it followed that nature had to be studied too. Social relations formed a

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[329] G. M. Wilcox, "Education in Soviet Armenia," Journal of Educational Sociology, II, (1929), 310.

[330] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

[331] Wilcox, loc. cit., p. 310 and H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 229.

third field, for by studying them the pupils could better understand how labor was organized. Labor, Nature, and Society were the three themes around which the pedagogues using the synthetic method built their projects.[332] In the elementary grades all three themes were integrated into a single "complex": in the secondary grades natural sciences were studied separately, while social studies were taught as a unit.

An important part of social studies was kavarakidoutyoun (regional studies). This was the science of problems of the various regions and localities of Armenia, and was introduced in the curriculum for the purpose of bringing the schools closer to the local life of the country.[333]

Soviet schools were also characterized by an emphasis on "polytechnic" education. Children were to be familiarized in a general way with all the productive activities of society. The teaching of theory and practise were to be combined whenever possible. Workshops and plots of land were attached to many schools. Children went on excursions to observe the operation of nearby factories, power plants, mines, etc. In this way it was hoped that the differences between mental and physical labor would no longer be regarded as socially significant.[334]

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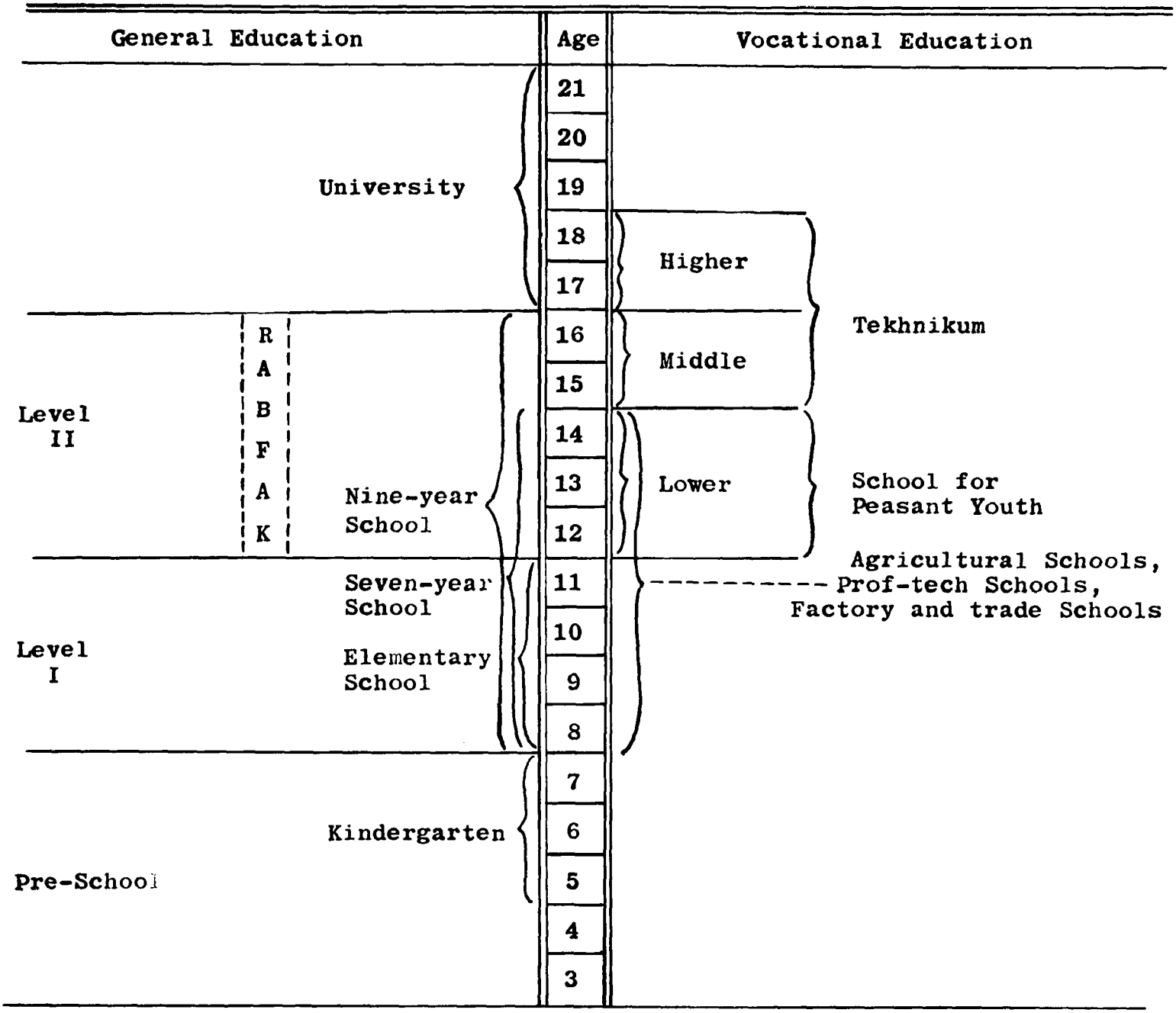
[332]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 426.

[333]K. A. Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 121.

[334]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 427.

TABLE 10

STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF SOVIET ARMENIA
As Provided in the Education Act of 1925*



*G. M. Wilcox, "Education in Soviet Armenia," Journal of Educational Sociology, II (1928), 225.

Education in Armenia was ultimately controlled by the central organs of the Communist Party, but formally the schools of Armenia were under the direction of the Commissariat of Education of Armenia. The Commissariat supervised pre-school, general, vocational, and adult education.[335] It sent out inspectors to the localities to see that its regulations were effected.[336] Each county also had a department of education with a chairman appointed by the county executive committee. Districts also had departments of education. The local authorities appointed school teachers and directors, selected specific texts, prepared local budgets, paid special attention to pre-schools and elementary schools, and supervised all schools in detail.[337]

It was the duty of the Commissariat of Education to prescribe general school curricula, outlines, methods of instruction, a list of approved texts, and the standards of education to be achieved.[338] The county departments of education did the preliminary work in preparing curricula

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[335] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 283.

[336] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 115.

[337] Widmayer, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

[338] SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 114-118.

and methods.[339] All texts were prepared and published by the Commissariat, and parents had to pay the costs. Throughout the twenties there was a great shortage of "approved" texts in Armenia, for revisions were continually being made to adapt texts to the new pedagogy and to make them politically acceptable.[340]

The Communist Party controlled the schools through the Union of Educational Workers, the retraining courses given to teachers, the censoring and rewriting of textbooks, and the recruting of teachers and school administrators from Party and Komsomol ranks. However, during the twenties Party surveillance over local schools tended to be irregular, and variations in local organization, methods, curriculum and texts were permitted.[341]

Political indoctrination was carried on in the schools through textbooks in which the heroes were leaders of popular risings and revolutions. Portraits of Communist leaders were hung conspicuously in the schoolrooms. Social life was interpreted in Marxist-Leninist terms in the

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[339] A. G. Kalashnikov, ed., Pedagogicheskaia Entsiklopediia [Pedagogical Encyclopedia], III (Moscow, 1929), 643. Hereafter cited as Ped. Ents. III.

[340] Ibid., p. 644 and Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 222-223.

[341] Widmayer, op. cit., pp. 277 and 422-423.

elementary grades, and Marxism-Leninism was a regular course in the general and vocational secondary grades. Natural phenomena were given a strictly materialist interpretation.[342]

The policy of korennizatsiia was followed in the selection of the teaching staff of Armenian schools. In 1925 over 80% of all elementary teachers and almost all teachers in seven-year and secondary schools were Armenians.[343] The teaching staff of Armenia was thoroughly purged in 1921-22; the total number of educational workers fell from 5,220 in August, 1921, to 1,200 in December, 1922.[344] Armenian instructors and students from the Lazarian Institute in Moscow were sent to teach in Armenia. In order to attract more "suitable" persons into teaching, the salary of teachers was increased 500% in 1922-23.[345] All teachers were required to join the Union of Educational Workers, which regulated salaries, vacations, and working conditions, and arranged for the retraining of teachers.[346] The

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[342] Ped. Ents. III, p. 644 and Widmayer, op. cit., p. 173.

[343] Ross, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

[344] SA Coms, 1920-1922, pp. 109-110.

[345] Ibid., p. 118.

[346] Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 223.

employment of teachers was arranged by collective agreement between Union and local authorities.[347] Promotion depended largely on training and experience.[348]

Teacher retraining in Armenia was accomplished by organizing teachers in a group of villages into a council headed by a chairman. The chairmen of several councils met and were instructed by the Commissariat of the Education officials concerning new curricula and methods. The chairmen then instructed their respective councils, which met weekly in the summer and bi-weekly in the winter.[349] Special teacher training courses were organized each summer. In November, 1922, a Pedagogical Institute was opened in Erivan.[350] Later it was incorporated into the State University.[351]

Pre-school education in Armenia included creches (nurseries) for children under five years and kindergartens for children from five to seven years. Peasant parents

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[347] Widmayer, op. cit., p. 157.

[348] Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 223.

[349] Ibid., p. 224.

[350] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 117.

[351] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 290.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1921-22 THROUGH 1928-29

Type of School	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
A. General Education								
1. Level I	65,043[a]	65,887[a]	63,609[a]	65,283[a]	67,796[a]	65,332[a]	74,584[b]	75,048[b]
2. Seven-year School	-------	-------	6,046[a]	14,659[a]	14,934[a]	12,074[a]	10,694[b]	11,762[b]
3. Level II	2,360[a]	1,911[a]	2,035[a]	7,720[a]	8,090[a]	5,834[a]	983[b]	1,279[b]
4. Nine-year school	-------	-------	272[a]	-------	222[a]	288[a]	no data	no data
5. School for Peasant Youth	-------	-------	-------	-------	56[a]	987[a]	no data	no data
TOTAL, General Education	67,403[a]	67,798[a]	72,320[a]	82,346[a]	85,895[a]	81,122[a]	86,161[b]	88,109[b]
B. Technical and Higher Schools								
1. Lower and Middle	703[a]	2,823[a]	5,327[a]	5,378[a]	6,678[a]	4,318[a]	4,392[c]	no data
2. Rabfaks	-------	332[a]	610[a]	594[a]	690[a]	565[a]		
3. Higher	490[a]	557[a]	1,261[a]	1,135[a]	1,411[a]	1,571[a]	1,603[c]	no data
Of this, the State University	255[d]	463[d]	938[d]	895[d]	1,161[d]	1,287[d]	1,324[e]	no data

a. Armenia (S.S.R.), Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, Sovetskaîa Armeniîa v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1928), pp. 34-35.

b. Armenia (S.S.R.), Sovet narodnykh komissarov, Materialy k otchetu pravitel'stva SSR Armenia (1929-34) k VIII s'ezdu sovetov (Erivan, 1935), p. 106.

c. Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii (Erivan, 1935), p. 197.

d. H. Hagopian, Khorhrtayin Hayasdan, (Paris, 1929), pp. 239-240.

e. A.G. Kalashnikov, ed., Pedagogicheskaîa Entsiklopediîa, III (Moscow, 1929), 645.

were used to keeping children at home to make use of their work, and did not make much use of the few kindergartens which were available.[352] By 1926-27 there were only twenty-five kindergartens with a total of 1,809 children in Armenia.[353] City children accounted for 85% of all pre-school pupils in 1928-29.[354] Only the Erivan central kindergarten had a trained staff.[355] Kindergarten children were told stories about Soviet heroes. They learned Armenian folk dances and songs, and also songs on Soviet themes such as

> Our October, our October,
> Red and triumphant,
> Our infant heads are safe
> Because of you today.
> We shall defend thee,
> Our dear October;
> We shall praise thee,
> Our Red October.[356]

During the summer special kindergartens were organized in a number of villages. Children were taught hygiene, given medical examinations and encouraged to play

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[352]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 224.

[353]SA 1923-1927, pp. 34-35.

[354]Armenia. 15 let, p. 198.

[355]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 224.

[356]Yeghenian, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

athletic games to develop "collective spirit." An effort was made to free them from "superstitious fears" by giving them a materialist explanation for natural phenomena. Through story-telling, excursions and discussions the children learned about community holidays and the economic inter-relations between towns and villages. There were twenty-six of these summer kindergartens in eight different counties of Armenia in 1926-1927.[357]

The Armenian child normally entered elementary school at the age of eight. Elementary education lasted four years and was made free and compulsory (in theory) by a decree in 1923.[358] By the end of the twenties, however, compulsory elementary education had still not been put into effect because of the lack of school buildings and teachers.[359] Often students had to study in two shifts, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.[360] Over one-third of all "schools" had no school buildings in 1928.[361]

In elementary schools where the synthetic method was introduced, the "three R's" were taught only incidentally.

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[357]K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 293.

[358]K. A. Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 120.

[359]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 223 and H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 230.

[360]H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 230.

[361]Ped. Ents. III, p. 644.

Instruction, amounting to a total of twenty-four hours a week, covered the Armenian language, mathematics, natural science, and social studies, all integrated into a "complex" of all inclusive problems.

The complex had three "aspects"--Labor, nature, and social. In the first year the complex was concerned with family life and the school; in the second, the village (or town) and its relations with the family; in the third, the village (or town) as a whole, the district, Armenia as a whole, and the relations of Armenia to the Transcaucasian Federation and the U.S.S.R.; in the fourth, social relations and social agencies in general, the contribution of the Communist revolution to the peasant, to Armenia and to other nations of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.S.R. as a whole, and the world as a whole. In the third and fourth elementary grades art, singing, drawing, and Russian language were taught when qualified teachers were available.[362]

The following is a description of the subject matter of the complex used during winter season in the first elementary grade:

> 1. Labor aspects: life and labor in winter; work of the school in winter; heating homes; hygiene work in the classroom (e.g. ventilation); games in the open air under the direction of the teacher; cleaning the school and around the school; organization of morning and evening social gatherings; program for the children to carry out in their homes (e.g. hygiene; agriculture; caring for animals in winter.

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[362]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 224-226 and II (1929), 311.

> 2. Nature aspects: observation of snow; making an elementary daybook on nature, noting winds, temperatures, position of the sun, cloudy and clear days, water in rivers, streams, wells, where ice forms, plants in winter, buds on trees, where birds and animals remain, animal tracks in the snow; excursions; picture of winter scenes in other countries; drawing pictures of the local scene.
>
> 3. Social aspects: winter at home--what each member of the family does, evenings, tales of people who have visited towns; who of the family goes to town in winter, what is bought and sold; economic ties between city worker and the peasants; rich and poor families; who does the work in those families; hired labor in the more wealthy families.[363]

There were 531 elementary schools in Armenia in 1921-22, staffed by 1,501 teachers giving instruction to 65,043 pupils. The number of elementary schools was increased to 748 in 1927-28; they were then staffed by 1,782 teachers instructing 66,968 pupils.[364] Eighty-nine per cent of all children of elementary school age were in elementary schools by December, 1927.[365]

Many elementary pupils were over-age. Theoretically, the age limits for elementary pupils were eight through twelve years, but in 1925 the average age of elementary pupils was 11.7 years.[366] In 1926-27, one-fourth

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[363]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1929), 311.

[364]Ped. Ents. III, p. 643.

[365]Kom. akad. stat., p. 276.

[366]Ross, op. cit., p. 59.

of elementary pupils were over twelve years of age.[367] About 90% of all elementary pupils in 1926-27 were Armenians.[368] More than one-fourth of all pupils were Turkish Armenian refugees.[369] Of all elementary pupils, 73% were the children of peasants in 1926-27.[370] Of the total elementary pupils in 1927-28, only 27.6% were girls.[371]

Armenians accounted for 80% of all elementary teachers in 1925; but it was reported that Russian Teachers were being introduced rapidly into the school system. About one-third of all elementary teachers had to do supplementary work to support themselves. Only 35% of all elementary teachers were women in 1925.[372] The educational qualifications of elementary teachers were rather low by American standards. In 1922-23, only 8% had had any higher education, one-half had received

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[367] SA 1923-1927, p. 38.

[368] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[369] Ross, op. cit., p. 59.

[370] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[371] Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, Massovoe prosveshchenie v SSSR k 15 letiîû oktîabri [Mass Education in the USSR to the 15th Anniversary of October] (Moscow, 1932), p. 45.

[372] Ross, op. cit., p. 60.

a complete secondary education, 31% had received an incomplete secondary education, and 11.8% had received only an elementary education. Many teachers had been carried over from pre-Soviet schools; in 1922-23, about half of all elementary teachers had six or more years of teaching experience behind them.[373]

Both elementary and some secondary instruction was given in the seven-year schools of Armenia. There were industrial and "communar" seven-year schools in the towns, preparing students for industry and public service, or professional education, respectively. There were agricultural seven-year schools in the countryside. These schools were not strictly vocational schools. It was stated in 1932 that

> They aim to give the pupils general knowledge based on specific vocational interests; in other words, a rather broad knowledge and understanding of the whole range of the industrial and agricultural productivity of the country and of the world. This gives the pupil the basis for future guidance and choice of definite vocational education and training.[374]

The seven-year schools included the first three years of secondary education. The secondary subjects were taught separately, rather than by the complex method. The curriculum of the secondary grades included Armenian, Russian, social studies, the natural sciences, and

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[373] Armenia. 15 let, p. 203.

[374] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 71.

mathematics. A total of thirty-six hours of weekly instruction was given.[375] Some seven-year schools included vocational instruction; these schools were primarily for children who would get no further schooling.[376]

There were no seven-year schools in Armenia until 1923-24, when twenty were established. By 1926-27 there were forty-one of them, staffed by 470 teachers instructing 12,074 pupils.[377] In 1926-27, 17% of these pupils were over fifteen years of age, whereas the normal age limits of seven-year school pupils were from twelve to fifteen years.[378] There was a higher proportion of girl pupils (42%) in these schools than in elementary schools. Of all seven-year pupils, 90% were Armenians. Only 46% of all seven-year pupils were the children of peasants.[379]

A few schools in Armenia gave a general, complete secondary education. In 1926-27 there were only eight of them, all of which were in towns.[380] In 1927-28 they had a combined staff of 144 teachers, who instructed a total of

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[375]Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 227.

[376]Ross, op. cit., p. 60 and K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 304.

[377]SA 1923-1927, pp. 34-35.

[378]Ibid., p. 38. [379]Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[380]Ibid., pp. 34-35.

2,654 students.[381] Both technical and general subjects were taught in these schools.[382] In 1926-27 girls accounted for 44% of the pupils; over half of the pupils were the children of wage laborers, clerks, government employees, professional men, and merchants.[383]

A special, experimental nine-year school was established in Erivan in 1923-24. It operated under the complex system and covered the full nine years of general education.[384] In 1926-27 it was staffed by twenty-one teachers instructing 288 pupils.[385] All of the pupils were Armenians; 42% were girls; and 70% were the children of clerks, government employees, professional men and merchants.[386]

The total number of students in general elementary and secondary schools increased from 67,403 in 1921-22[387] to 83,346 in 1927-28.[388] The proportion of rural pupils in

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[381] Ped. Ents. III, p. 643.

[382] Ross, op. cit., p. 61.

[383] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[384] Ross, op. cit., p. 61.

[385] SA 1923-1927, pp. 34-35.

[386] Ibid., pp. 36-37. [387] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[388] Armenia, 15 let., p. 197.

these schools increased from 58% in 1921-22 to 76% in 1926-27.[389] In the latter year, 99.5% of these schools gave instruction in the Armenian language,[390] although only 91.2% of all pupils were Armenians.[391] Girls accounted for 31.8% of the pupils in these schools in 1927-28, but only 26.9% of rural pupils were girls.[392] The number of pupils in school per 100 inhabitants of Armenia was 8.9 in 1923-24[393] and 9.8 in 1928-29.[394] Many children of the "disinherited" classes were excluded from the public schools.[395]

It was realized in Armenia that most students would not attend the university, or for that matter complete the general secondary course of study. There was a great need for technical workers of various kinds in the country. Therefore, technical education began in the fifth year of

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[389] SA 1923-1927, pp. 34-35.

[390] Ibid., p. 39. [391] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[392] Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940, p. 65.

[393] SA 1923-1927, pp. 40-41.

[394] Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940, p. 29.

[395] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 62.

instruction for most students. During the middle twenties there was a tendency to professionalize general secondary schools so that more pupils would be quickly prepared for definite jobs requiring only a minimum of training.[396]

It was possible to climb the ladder of vocational schools to the university level, but students who had finished all the nine years of technical training were required to obtain three years of practical experience before they could enter the university.[397] General academic students, on the other hand, could enter the university as soon as they finished the nine years of general education. The school system in Armenia, therefore, tended to deny most students the opportunity to obtain a complete liberal education and to enter the political intelligentsia.

Vocational education began after the four years of elementary instruction. Some seven-year schools, known as "factory schools" (FZU), "prof-techs" and "agricultural schools" gave the first three years of vocational training. Many graduates of these schools received no further schooling. Teachers, mechanics, artisans, nurses, and artists were trained in these lower technical schools.[398] The agricultural schools did not turn out skilled agronomists,

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[396] Widmayer, op. cit., p. 151.

[397] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 73.

[398] Ibid.

but taught the peasants modern farming methods.[399] In 1927-28 there were nine lower agricultural schools, two FZU schools, and six prof-tech schools, with a total of 1,242 students.[400] General agricultural instruction was also given in the three-year "School for Peasant Youth," which students might enter after the elementary grades. Two such schools were established in 1925-26, and in 1926-27 there were seventeen, with a total of 987 pupils. All of the pupils were Armenians, and most of them were boys and of peasant origin.[401]

Technicians of "middle qualification" were turned out by the tekhnikumy of Armenia, which included a three or four course of study beyond the seven-year school, normally for youths of fifteen to eighteen years. Two manual arts tekhnikumy were established in 1921-22 (in Erivan and in Leninakan), and a fine and applied arts tekhnikum and music conservatory were founded in Erivan in 1921.[402] By 1927-28

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[399] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 295.

[400] Ped Ents. III, p. 644.

[401] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[402] H. Hagopian, op. cit., pp. 234-235 and K. A. Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 122.

there were six normal schools (pedagogical tekhnikumy) and two tekhnikumy for training agronomists.[403]

In order to prepare working adults for the university, a special type of school, the rabfak (worker's faculty), was established in Armenia. This type of school covered the five-year general secondary course.[404] Some technical industrial courses were given, but the main purpose of the rabfak was to train political specialists.[405] There were two rabfaki in Armenia, one at Erivan and one at Leninakan, both established in 1923. In 1927-28 the Erivan rabfak had twenty-eight instructors and 327 students; the Leninakan rabfak had twenty-one instructors and 284 students.[406] The rabfaki operated only in the evening. A number of short-term and correspondence courses were also given for working adults.

There were fourteen tekhnikumy and rabfaki in Armenia in 1927-28, with a total of 2,287 students and 239 teachers.[407] The total number of students in all middle vocational schools, short-term courses and rabfaki amounted to 4,883 in 1926-27.

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[403] Ped. Ents. III, p. 644.

[404] Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 229.

[405] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 298.

[406] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 234.

[407] Armenia, 15 let, p. 204.

The proportion of Armenians among these students was 96%. Girls accounted for 30% of all students. Slightly less than one-third were peasant children.[408]

The State University of Armenia was founded in Erivan in January, 1921, but it did not carry on "serious academic work" until the fall of 1923.[409] The purposes of the University were (1) to prepare technical specialists and (2) to deepen understanding of the problems and needs of Soviet life and work as a whole. In 1928 the University included four faculties: Medicine, Technology, Agriculture, and Social Sciences (the latter including Historical-Literary, Legal, and Pedagogical Sections).[410] It took five years to complete the medical and technological courses, and four years for the other two courses. An additional year of practical experience was required for all students before diplomas were awarded.[411]

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[408] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[409] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 236.

[410] Ibid., pp. 238-239.

[411] Wilcox, loc. cit., II (1928), 229.

In the early years many instructors, although erudite in their special fields, were unaccustomed to using Armenian, having been trained in Russian or European universities. They were also troubled by the lack of scientific terms in the Armenian language. At first there were no university textbooks in Armenian.[412] Marxism-Leninism was the starting point of all instruction in the social sciences. The so-called "active" system of instruction was used: each instructor was put in charge of a small group and got to know his students intimately during the year. This professor judged at the end of the year if the student was fit or unfit to continue his work.[413] Lectures were generally given after five P.M. for the benefit of working students.[414]

Throughout the twenties the University had difficulties because of the poor preparation of students. Toward the end of the twenties a diploma from a rabfak or secondary school was required for admission.[415] As was mentioned above, the students of vocational schools had to have three years of practical experience before admission.

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[412] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 238.

[413] Yeghenian, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

[414] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 239.

[415] Ibid., p. 236.

Children of the "disinherited classes" (merchants, nobles, clergymen) were generally excluded. In 1931 a visitor to Armenia asked the Commissar of Education why these innocent children should be penalized for the "sins" of their fathers. The Commissar replied:

> Life is a stern reality. We do not exclude them because of revenge, but because just now we cannot afford higher education for all. Each university student receives a pension from the state to enable him to study. We do not have enough to go around. Therefore we must choose those who were disinherited in the old regime. The others can learn from their parents, who had the privilege of education and can teach their children.[416]

The total number of University students increased from 255 in 1921-22 to 1,324 in 1927-28. The proportion of women students increased from 29% in 1922[417] to 37% in 1926-27.[418] According to class origin, 201 students were peasants, 130 were bourgeois (kaghakatzi), 100 were intellectuals, and twenty were manual workers in 1922.[419] Five years later (1926-27), there were no university students from the bourgeois and other "non-laboring" classes, while two-thirds were from the white collar class, one-tenth were from the peasantry, only 2% were proletarians, and less

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[416] Yeghenian, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

[417] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 133.

[418] SA 1923-1927, p. 43.

[419] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 134. Only 451 of the total of 463 students gave data.

than 1% were the children of professional men.[420] By the late twenties, therefore, the class composition of the university students showed a dominance of students of the white collar class, while the number of peasants and industrial workers was relatively small. The children of the bourgeois class had been effectively excluded. All but eight of the 1,287 university students in 1926-27 were Armenians.[421]

There were forty-two instructors and administrators at the University in 1922. Of the lecturers, 46.9% had received their higher education in Russian universities, 49.7%, in European universities, 6.2% in seminaries, and 6.2% in both Russian and European universities.[422] By 1926-27 there were 120 lecturers at the University.[423] An apartment house for university students, and another for professors had been built.[424]

Besides the rabfaki and University there were a number of institutions for adult education in Armenia. These institutions were organized to fight illiteracy and

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[420] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[421] Ibid.

[422] SA Coms, 1920-1922, p. 133.

[423] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 239.

[424] Ped. Ents. III, p. 645.

to indoctrinate adults with Soviet ideology. Regular school buildings were used for adult education in the evenings.[425] In 1921 the government decreed that all persons aged sixteen to thirty years must learn to read and write.[426] Special "illiteracy liquidation points" (liggayan), and schools for semi-literates were established in towns and villages. Separate liggayanner were established for women, and instruction in reading and writing was also introduced in sewing centers established for women. A society called "Down with Illiteracy" was founded; the radio broadcast anti-illiteracy propaganda, and a special magazine was regularly published to forward anti-illiteracy campaigns.[427] The number of students (mostly adults) in the liggayan increased from 6,453 in 1922-23 to 9,834 in 1928. The number studying in schools for semi-literates increased from seventy-two in 1922-23 to 3,547 in 1928.[428] Of the total students in the liggayanner and schools for semi-literates in 1926-27, only 9% were women.[429].

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[425] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 230.

[426] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 297.

[427] Ped. Ents. III, p. 646.

[428] H. Hagopian, op. cit., p. 231 and K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., p. 301.

[429] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

There were various other evening schools giving technical and general instruction to adults. A total of 6,203 persons attended these schools in 1928.[430] The overwhelming majority were men.[431]

As a result of Soviet efforts illiteracy was significantly reduced in Armenia during the twenties. The proportion of literates among all persons between the ages of eight and forty-four years was increased from 26.3% in 1922 to 38.9% in 1928.[432] The proportion of literacy among the total Armenian population increased from 18.2% in 1922 to 27.1% in 1926. In the latter year the literacy rate among Armenians in rural areas was 21.1%, while in urban areas it was 50.9%.[433] The literacy rate in 1926 for the total population of Armenia nine years of age or older was 34.5%; for males only, 49.5%; and for females only, 19.2%[434] The literacy rate in urban areas among persons eight years or older was 63.4%, and among urban males it was 73%.[435]

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[430] K. A. Sarafian, op. cit., pp. 301-302.

[431] SA 1923-1927, pp. 36-37.

[432] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 10-11.

[433] SA 1923-1927, p. 32.

[434] Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo, 1940, p. 7.

[435] SA 1923-1927, p. 33.

A limited number of adults were trained as political leaders in the soviet-party schools of Armenia. There were 217 students in these schools in 1926-27. Of the total, 87% were men; 98% were Armenians; and 69% were peasants.[436]

The expansion of educational facilities was probably welcomed in Armenia, for the educated man was highly esteemed in traditional Armenian culture. By 1928, however, 61% of the population between the ages of eight and forty-four years was still illiterate. The peasants resisted sending their children to kindergartens. Girls accounted for only 31.8% of all pupils in general elementary and secondary schools. There was still much work to be done in the implementing of Soviet educational policies.

The Armenian Church Under Soviet Rule

By the time of Sovietization the Armenian Church had already lost much of its influence in Armenian society. It was no longer the leader of Armenian scholarship, literature, and art. Its leadership in political and social affairs had been supplanted to a great extent by Armenian political parties and benevolent societies. The new, secularized Armenian intelligentsia were in many cases hostile to the Church, and especially toward the more obscurantist priests. As was noted above, the

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436 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

Armenian parochial schools were secularized in the time of the Armenian Republic; the Soviet government reaffirmed the situation.

On the other hand, the Armenian peasantry was still loyal to the Church. An American observer in the early twenties declared,

> Never before has there been greater enthusiasm for the Church among the Armenian peasants; the religious processions grow larger and more enthusiastic every year.[437]

The Armenians appreciated the fact that the Catholikos, Kevork V, had made the buildings and grounds of Echmiadzin monastery available for the shelter of Armenian refugees.[438] In August, 1922 it was reported that the Soviet government had postponed seizing the treasures of the Armenian Churches and monasteries because of the "unrest" among the people.[439]

There can be no doubt that the devout Armenian Communists wanted to end the influence of religion among the Armenian people and to destroy the Armenian Church. The editor of a leading Soviet Armenian literary magazine stated the Communist position regarding religion as follows:

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[437] Elliot, op. cit., pp. 323-324.

[438] K. Saharuni, Bor'ba Armîanskoi tserkvi protiv bol'shevizma [Struggle of the Armenian Church Against Bolshevism] (Munich, 1951), p. 16.

[439] The Times (London), August 8, 1922, 5:6.

> It suits the interests of the rulers and the bourgeoisie to represent life as so dark and so inscrutable and mysterious that man can be saved by religion alone. That gives the rulers control over the ignorant masses, as religion ever strives to keep the masses ignorant and unenlightened....
>
> We consider religion a hashish, an opiate, which poisons the vitality of the working man, enervates his will and energy, and deprives him of that acute sense of selfconsciousness which is essential to him in order not to lose his grip on reality.[440]

The Communists realized, however, that the Armenian Church was still popular among the masses, so it acted cautiously. In the early twenties the government was careful not to attack the Church openly, but limited itself to criticizing religion per se.[441] The government tried to show that it was tolerant toward the Armenian Church. According to Soviet Armenian law, every citizen could follow whatever religion he wished. Freedom of worship was guaranteed, and religious persecution was officially condemned. Religious as well as anti-religious propaganda were permitted.[442] The Central Committee of the Union Party issued orders in September, 1921 that anti-religious propaganda was not to be overemphasized; however, all Party members were ordered to break completely with religion or be expelled.[443]

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[440]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 87.

[441]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 9.

[442]Boghossian, op. cit., p. 46.

[443]J. S. Curtiss, The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917-1950 (Boston, 1953), p. 201.

Although freedom of worship was guaranteed, all activities of the Church apart from the conducting of worship services were curtailed or forbidden. The Church schools were declared secularized,and the Church was forbidden to interfere in education.[444] All property of the Church was confiscated, including its lands, printing press, museum, and library.[445] Later, however, 100 acres of fruitland were restored to the monastery of Echmiadzin.[446] The church and monastic cells of Echmiadzin remained under the jurisdiction of the Catholikos.[447] Organized religious instruction of children under eighteen years was forbidden in Church buildings.[448] Although the seminary of Echmiadzin was allowed to function in the early twenties,[449] it was closed before the end of the decade. The official publication of the Catholikosate, Ararat, continued to appear, but it dealt with religious subjects almost exclusively, and was

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[444] Boghossian, op. cit., p. 46.

[445] Saharuni, op. cit., p. 8 and Elliot, op. cit., p. 338.

[446] Arpee, op. cit., p. 307.

[447] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 42.

[448] Arpee, op. cit., p. 307.

[449] Elliot, op. cit., p. 323.

under strict Soviet censorship.[450] The exclusive jurisdiction of the Church over marriage and divorce was abolished; Soviet courts and the Office of Registry of Acts of Civil Status (ZAGS) were now available for the legalization of marital status.

The Soviet government gave limited encouragement to liberal religious reformers both in Russia and in Armenia. In Russia the reformers of the Russian Orthodox Church organized the "Living Church" movement, a movement directed against the celibate bishops by parish priests who sought opportunities for personal advancement and to free themselves of the stigma attached to the anti-Soviet policy of the bishops.[451] A similar movement developed in Armenia. A group of Armenian priests, headed by Archmandrite Benik, formed a separate organization known as the "Free Church." Their motives were similar to those of the leaders of the "Living Church." Benik had written some tracts before Sovietization in which he declared that celibacy among the clergy was useless, that the study of life after death was inappropriate, and in which he attacked numerous popular superstitions in Armenia, which had originated in the pre-Christian era, as unworthy

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[450]V. A. Sarafian, "The Soviet and the Armenian Church," Armenian Review, VIII, No. 2 (1955), 91.

[451]Curtiss, op. cit., pp. 135 and 140.

practises for Christians.[452] Benik had been punished by the Church authorities for "uncanonical" behavior. After Sovietization the government published Benik's works. It gave official recognition to the schism and to the independence of the "Free Church" in 1922. The Catholikos retaliated by excommunicating the priests adhering to the "Free Church."[453] The "Free Church" failed to get much popular support, and, like the "Living Church," it had dwindled to insignificance by 1925.[454]

The Armenian government then began to concentrate on winning the friendship of individual priests within the Orthodox Church. It was reported in 1924 that Khoren, the Archbishop of Erivan, was the real power behind the Catholikos and also on excellent terms with the Communists. He was even invited to work with the government on a plan to reclaim land by irrigation on which to settle refugees.[455]

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[452]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 9.

[453]Ibid., p. 10.

[454]Ibid., p. 11 and Curtiss, op. cit., p. 174.

[455]Elliot, op. cit., p. 323

The government tried to get priests to leave the Church by promising them privileges and material reward. Some priests who were linked by kinship ties to Soviet Armenian government officials responded to these enticements. The Orthodox Church reacted by excommunicating the apostates and anathemizing them from the pulpit. Apparently they were treated by contempt by the masses of devout laymen.[456]

Individual priests who showed particular hostility to the Soviet regime were subjected to persecution. A number of them were arrested and exiled.[457] Members of the Komsomol, seeking outlets for revolutionary feelings would jeer at priests in the streets and subject them to various forms of molestation. In one village the Young Communists entered the village church the night before Easter and stole all the church ornaments and vestments. In another village a group of armed Communists executed the village priests and his four sons in April, 1926. Similar incidents took place in other villages. The government did nothing effective to find and punish the murderers.[458] It was reported that a youth in the village of Garni killed his grandfather, who was an old priest, in order that he might become a member of the Komsomol; and after doing so, he was indeed accepted in that organization.[459]

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[456] Saharuni, op. cit., p. 13. [457] Ibid., p. 10.

[458] Ibid., pp. 13-14. [459] Ibid., p. 15.

Kevork V, who had become Catholikos in 1911, was personally immune to Communist persecution. Nevertheless he practically imprisoned himself in Echmiadzin and refused to communicate with Communist leaders because of their anti-religious activities.[460] The government preferred to leave him alone because he was very old and not expected to live much longer and because he enjoyed prestige among Armenians all over the world.[461]

Alexander Miasnikian, the most powerful man in the government of Soviet Armenia, declared in November, 1924, that the government was opposed to "crude and vulgar" anti-religious propaganda.[462] Unofficially, however, the government encouraged a variety of forms of anti-religious propaganda, both crude and subtle. A special Soviet organization, the Union of Militant Atheists, established a branch in Erivan during the twenties, and began to publish the Ateist. About two-thirds of each issue was devoted to satirizing pious Armenians, especially women of the older generation. The Union arranged for plays, evening gatherings and lectures for the purpose of fighting religion. Instruction in the natural sciences in Soviet schools

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[460]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 41.

[461]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 16.

[462]A. Miasnikov, Armianskie politicheskie partii za rubezhom [Armenian Political Parties Abroad] (Tiflis, 1925), p. 65.

was used to fight non-materialist explanations of natural phenomena. Having learned that many of the Armenian clergy were learned in the natural sciences, the atheists claimed that Armenian priests made use of a barometer to predict rain and attributed the coming of rain to divine grace. (It was reported that this "revelation" by the atheists only increased popular respect of the clergy.[463] In the Soviet schools Armenian children were told to ask something of God in prayer, such as a rainstorm or an apple; after a few minutes of unsuccessful prayer, the teacher would point out the futility of praying to a nonexistent being.[464] A number of young Soviet Armenian writers were encouraged to produce anti-religious stories. These writers, including Derenik Demirchian and Nairi Zarian, wrote about Armenian families in which the children had become atheists and had gained victory over the older generation with the help of the Soviet government.[465] Workers were encouraged to adopt the uninterrupted work week, that is, to take a holiday every five or six days in staggered groups, so that most workers would not be free to attend Church on Sunday.[466] The fingers

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[463]Saharuni, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[464]V. A. Sarafian, "The Soviet and the Armenian Church", p. 94.

[465]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 12.

[466]Kachigoghlian, op. cit., p. 34.

of children were inspected at school during Easter time for traces of dyes used in coloring Easter eggs.[467]

Reactions to Soviet Cultural Policies

During the early twenties a number of churches were closed in Zangezur and Delijan counties on the initiative, according to Miasnikian, of the believers themselves.[468] According to an anti-Soviet source, the number of Armenian churches and priests decreased steadily. The Armenian villagers, while still attached to their local priest, became alienated from the Armenian Church hierarchy.[469] However, a Soviet ethnologist was forced to concede in 1929 that "echoes of the age-old power of the Armenian clergy over the backward strata of the popular mass continue to be reported even now."[470] In some villages the peasants took the law into their own hands in order to punish the murderers of the local priest.[471] Anti-atheist

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[467]V. A. Sarafian, "The Soviet and the Armenian Church," p. 94.

[468]M͡iasnikov, op. cit., p. 65.

[469]V. A. Sarafian, "The Soviet and the Armenian Church," pp. 90-91.

[470]A. F. Li͡aister and G. F. Chursin, Geografiia Zakavkaz'i͡a [Geography of Transcaucasia] (Tiflis, 1929), p. 290.

[471]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 14.

demonstrations took place in Vagharshapat, Ashtarak, Daralagiaz, Basargechar, and other regions.[472] Even some members of the Armenian Komsomol and Communist Party were secret partisans of the Church. It was reported that some Party members were secretly married in the Church and brought their children to the priests for christening.[473]

Nevertheless it is probable that the Armenian Church lost support during the twenties as a result of the general trend toward secularism among Armenians that had begun in the period before Soviet rule. The secular creed of nationalism had a strong following in Armenia. The Soviet government did not effectively suppress Armenian nationalism, and even encouraged it in the sphere of language, literature, music and art. Meanwhile the children of Armenia, and to a lesser extent the adults, were subjected to indoctrination in Communist ideology in the expanding Soviet school system. By the end of the twenties a Communist elite of 15,000 members was included in the Communist Party of Armenia and the Komsomol. Large numbers of the former nationalist intelligentsia were serving as officials in the government of Soviet Armenia.

It may be concluded that Soviet policies in the twenties had some disruptive influence on the traditional

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472 Ibid., p. 12.

473 Ibid., p. 13.

Armenian family and village and on the Armenian Church. But on the whole these institutions proved resistant to change. In the period that followed, 1929-1936, the Communists adopted radical measures to destroy these "patriarchal vestiges."

CHAPTER V

SOVIET ARMENIA, 1929-1936

The old world is unknown to me,
I knew it not in youth.
What would recall it to me
Out of the obscurity of dust and murk?
But when I look into
My gray-haired mother's eyes
It rises menacing with death,
And filth and misery replete.
The old world is unknown to me,
I knew it not in youth,
But in the dimming pupils of her eyes
Its mists do hover still.

--Hovhannes Shiraz, 1935.

CHAPTER V

SOVIET ARMENIA, 1929-1936

Sources of Change in Armenian Cultural Patterns

By 1929 the Communists had accomplished a great deal in consolidating their position in Armenia, but the Communist impact on the basic institutions of traditional Armenian culture was still relatively weak. The parochial school had been sovietized, but the positions of the Armenian Church, the traditional Armenian family, and the traditional Armenian village organization were still strong. In a description of Soviet Russia which applies equally well to Armenia, Alex Inkeles declared,

> The old society was a bombed out shell, with only here and there a torn wall still standing, although a certain subterranean structure or foundation stood undamaged and firm, and represented a phenomenon yet to be dealt with by the regime.[1]

Nevertheless, the Communists laid the institutional basis for a radical transformation of Armenian culture. They had established a Soviet form of government and had staffed it almost entirely with Armenians. They had developed and strengthened the Communist Party of Armenia. They had

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[1] A. Inkeles, "Social Change in Soviet Russia," Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. by Morroe Berger (New York, 1954), p. 248.

gained control of the consumer cooperatives and trade unions of Armenia and had expanded their activities. They had created a Communist school system and many new secondary organizations for the indoctrination of the population with Soviet ideology and values.

The Communists utilized existing social forces in Armenia and created new ones as well. They had channeled the energy bound up in Armenian nationalism into economic and cultural construction. They had encouraged the trend toward secularism. They had redistributed available land in a manner designed to satisfy the demands of the poor Armenian peasants. They had utilized the talents of the Armenian intelligentsia in administrative work. At the same time they had attracted a significant part of Armenian youth to the work of achieving Communist goals. They had helped in the development of a feminist movement. They had encouraged the formerly passive Armenian proletariat to participate in political life.

In these ways Armenian society had been prepared for the changes in Soviet policies which began during 1928. At that time the tempo and intensity of social and economic change was greatly increased. Industrialization was pushed forward at a rapid rate on the basis of forced curtailment in consumption. The traditional Armenian village organization

and the Armenian Church were subjected to increased disruptive activity. Armenian nationalism was put in a tighter straightjacket.

An aspect of traditional Armenian culture was given new encouragement in the period 1929-1936. Authoritarian patterns of behavior, which had existed in the patriarchal Armenian family, became more and more pervasive in all Soviet institutions. But the new authoritarianism was not sanctioned by tradition, but by the rationale of Communist principles and by the charisma of Stalin, the great Communist leader.

Social stratification was also encouraged in this period. Income differentials were deliberately increased in all phases of productive work. The Communists created a new privileged class of intellectuals, technicians, and highly productive workers. But the basis of prestige in Soviet society was different from that of traditional Armenian society. High social position was derived from achievement, founded on education and technical skill, rather than the accumulation of wealth in the form of land rents. The classic learning fostered by the Church was of little use in Soviet society. Those who made money in private commerce suffered from various forms of political discrimination. The learned priest, the great landowner, and the wealthy merchant were now members of the "disinherited" class.

In 1928 the Communists began their "second revolution," a revolution designed to stimulate rapid economic growth and social transformation on the basis of complete economic reorganization. Economic development was now governed by all-embracing plans prepared by the government. New standards of achievement and controls were established for all phases of production. Agriculture was reorganized on a new institutional basis; industry was revolutionized by Soviet methods of large-scale production; all commerce was brought under the control of Soviet institutions. Through this second revolution the Communists expected not only to increase their economic strength but also to transform kinship relations, relations between the sexes, attitudes toward work and attitudes toward authority which had been characteristic of traditional Armenian culture.

Political Developments

In order to facilitate the second revolution in Armenia, the central authorities of the Soviet Union deprived the country of a great deal of the autonomy it had enjoyed during the twenties. Most of the commissariats of the Armenian government lost their formal independence of central jurisdiction. The Commissariat of Agriculture of Armenia became a united Armenian-Transcaucasian Commissariat in December, 1929. The Commissariat of Internal Affairs was abolished in 1930, and its police functions were turned over to the State Political Administration (G.P.U.) in

Armenia. In 1931 some of the functions of the former Commissariat of Internal Affairs of Armenia were given to the new Armenian Commissariat of Communal Economy, which was concerned with public housing and public utilities. The control of institutions of higher technical education (except pedagogical institutions) was transferred from the Armenian Commissariat of Education to Union authorities in 1932. In 1936 Armenia lost its formal autonomy in matters of public health and justice. Its factual autonomy, which had always been limited, was probably even more restricted in all spheres of government.[2]

An administrative redivision of the territory of Soviet Armenia took place during the period 1929-1936. It is probable that one of the purposes of this redivision was to prevent the formation of local centers of power and to facilitate the control of the countryside by the central authorities in Erivan. The nine counties (kavar) were abolished and a large number of smaller districts (shurchan, raion) were created in their place. At the beginning of 1935 there were twenty-six of these districts.[3]

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[2] J. Towster, Political Power in the USSR, 1917-1947 (New York, 1948), pp. 88-89 and A. Y. Vyshinsky, ed., The Law of the Soviet State (New York, 1948), pp. 400-413, passim.

[3] Revolîutsiîa i Natsional'nosti, No. 1 (1935), pp. 95-96. The twenty-six districts were: Aparan, Aghpapa, Allaverti, Artig, Akhda, Ashtarag, Pasargechar, Vagharshabad, Veti, Koris, Tilichan, Ichevan, Ghamarlou, Gharakilisa, Ghafan, Keshishkent, Godaik, Gourtoughouli, Mardouni, Meghri, Nor Payazed, Pashalou, Sisian, Sdepanavan, Talin, Shamshatin.

Another device for the improvement of central control over the localities of Armenia was the Organizational Division (Orgotdel), which was established as a subdivision of the Central Executive Committee of Armenia in 1927. Orgotdel branches were attached to all county executive committees and village soviets of Armenia during 1928. The orgotdely edited the resolutions of the general meetings of soviets and prepared the agenda for their presidia. Through the network of orgotdel instructuors and informers the central government sought to strengthen its links with local government and to encourage more people to participate in the work of local government.[4]

Beginning in 1928 some important changes were made in the top-level staff of the government and Communist Party of Armenia. Aghasi Khanchian, a protege of Stalin, was sent to Armenia in about 1927 to become the Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia, and by January, 1928, he

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[4]Zakavkazskoe soveshchanie po voprosam organizatsionno-massovoi raboty sovetov, Tiflis, 1928, Zakavkazskoe soveshchanie po voprosam organizatsionno-massovoi raboty sovetov, 10-15 iiulia, 1928 g. [Transcaucasian Conference on Organizational-mass Work of the Soviets, July 10-15, 1928] (Tiflis, 1928), pp. 3, 19 and 59. Hereafter cited as Zak. sov. mass. rab.

was First Secretary of the Party.[5] Sahak Ter Gabrielian, an old Bolshevik with good connections in Moscow, became the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in about 1928.[6] Moughdousi became head of the secret police.[7] Ashot Hovhanessian, S. Srabionian (Lugashin), H. Gostanian, A. Karinian and other top level Party and government officials suspected of nationalist tendencies were "exiled" to posts outside Armenia.[8]

The new leadership in Armenia began a purge of all persons in the country who were actual or potential leaders of opposition to the new Soviet policies. "Dashnak,"

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[5]A. Lalaian, "XIII godovshchina Sovetskoi Armenii i sotsialisticheskaĭa rekonstruktsiĭa ee sel'skogo khozĭaistva" [The Thirteenth Anniversary of Soviet Armenia and The Socialist Reconstruction of Its Agriculture], Revoliûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 6 (1933), p. 146 and K. Tzitzernak, "Aghasi Khanjian," Armenian Review, III, No. 2 (1950), 53.

[6]A. Y. Yeghenian, The Red Flag at Ararat (New York, 1932), pp. 123-124.

[7]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 53.

[8]A. Haroot, "The Purges in Soviet Armenia," Armenian Review, IV, No. 3 (1951), 136.

"Trotskyist," and "right-opportunist" elements were "unmasked."[9] Former Dashnaks and former officers of the army of the Armenian Republic were arrested and exiled. Hovhannes Kachaznouni, the most outstanding Dashnak apostate in Armenia, was sent to Siberia.[10] Former Hunchaks and Social Revolutionaries were also purged. A trial was held of the "assassins" of Ghoughas Ghoughasian, a young Communist who had been killed in the futile rising of May, 1920. In several regions there were trials of those who had been "accomplices in the massacres of Turkish workingmen" in the time of the Armenian Republic. Others were tried for the "murder" of Communists during the civil war of 1921.[11]

During the period 1929-1932 the government apparatus of Armenia was purged from top to bottom and "mass surveillance" over the government staff was increased. The administration of consumer cooperatives and trade unions was also purged.[12] The Central Committee of the Communist

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[9]Lalaian, loc. cit., p. 148.

[10]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 53.

[11]Ibid., p. 55.

[12]A. Khanchian, H.G.(p.)G. Gendgomi hashvedvoutyoone 8-rt hamakoumaroum [Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia to the Eighth Congress] (Erivan, 1932), pp. 117 and 120.

Party of Armenia "scrutinized" all local Party organizations in 1931, and members of the Central Committee made tours of the countryside. The departments of the Central Committee were reorganized so that they could warn the Committee more promptly about the "factors causing rifts in the rural organizations." A new Party administrative unit, the village committee, was established. The village committees were attached to large collective farms, to state farms, and to Machino-Tractor Stations for the purpose of integrating rural Party work.[13]

During the early thirties the membership of the Communist Party of Armenia continued to grow. Seventy-three new Party cells were organized in industrial enterprises between 1930 and 1932. In 1929 there was only one cell per 3.3 villages, whereas in 1932 there was one cell per 1.8 villages.[14] The total number of Party members and candidates increased from 8,191 in 1927, to 19,976 in August, 1931.[15] There were 25,390 members and candidates

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[13] Ibid., pp. 126 and 129.

[14] Ibid., pp. 127-128.

[15] S.Akopov, Oktiabr' i uspekhi natsional'nogo stroitel'stva [October and the Successes of National Construction] (Moscow, 1932), p. 26.

in the Party in January, 1933, of which 89.4% were Armenians.[16] Underlying the growth of the Party was the need for more Party workers to carry out the new Soviet policies in the countryside. But many of the new recruits were poorly trained and untested by experience. There were a number of cases of disobedience of Party orders during the early thirties.

On orders from Moscow, the Party in Armenia tried to increase the proportion of industrial workers in its membership to 50% of the total membership, but this attempt did not succeed. Industrial workers, by occupation, constituted only 28.7% of all Party members in January, 1929 and only 29.6% in January, 1931. Even in industrial areas, the proportion of workers was low: in the Allaverdi Party organization workers constituted only 31.7% of all members in 1932. Peasants accounted for 34.1% of all members and clerks and intelligentsia, 27.2% of all members in January, 1931.[17] This situation may be accounted for by the following factors: (1) there were relatively few industrial workers in Armenia in the early thirties, and fewer still who could be regarded as suitable material for Party membership; (2) educated persons were needed for

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[16] Revolîutsiîa i Natsional'nosti, May-June, 1933, p. 12.

[17] Khanchian, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

Party work. Orders from Moscow could not alter this situation overnight. No data is available to the author on the size and composition of the Armenian Party between 1933 and 1936. It is possible that the Communists wished to conceal the effects on Party membership of the purges that went on during this period.

In the high ranks of the Communist Party of Armenia there was evidently resistance to the policies of the new leaders of the country. The leader of the opposition, according to Soviet reports, was Nersik Stepanian, former Commissar of Education and Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of Armenia.[18] Stepanian was accused of organizing a "Trotskyite-Zinovievist-counter-revolutionary-terrorist" group in Leninakan.[19] This group was reported to have held that it was unfortunate that the Dashnaks were destroyed in Armenia because they could have been "useful." According to an emigré report, Stepanian was not a great admirer of Stalin. While Stepanian was

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[18] S. Dimanshtein, "Vyshe bolshevistkuiû bditel'nosti" [Greater Bolshevik Alertness], Revolîûtsiîà i Natsional'nosti, No. 9 (1936), p. 9.

[19] A. Lalaian, "Proekt Stalinskoi Konstitutsii SSSR i rastsvet Sovetskoi Armenii" [The Project of the Stalinist Constitution and the Blooming of Armenia], Revolîûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 4 (1936), p. 50. Hereafter cited as Lalaian, 1936.

professor of Marxism-Leninism at the State University of Armenia, Lavrentia Beria made a speech (in October, 1935) on the history of Bolshevik organizations in Transcaucasia. In this speech, which was published in book form, he gave most of the credit for Bolshevik achievements in Transcaucasia to Joseph Stalin. Stepanian, according to this emigré report, secretly wrote a book in answer to Beria which was entitled, "The Actual History of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks." In this book he stated that Stepan Shaumian and others were far more important figures in Transcaucasian Bolshevik history than was Stalin. Stepanian tried to have the book printed secretly on the press of the State University, but his attempt was discovered.[20]

A number of Party members made accusations against Stepanian and in 1934 Galoyan, Secretary of the Party Collegium, made an inquest into these accusations. According to a Soviet source, he invited Stepanian to his own apartment and personally listened to his "counter-revolutionary-Dashnak" arguments.[21] Stepanian was fully cleared of the charges against him and his accusers were rebuked for slandering a Party member. Apparently Khanchian approved of this decision. The affair was

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[20] V. Navasartian, Polshevizme ev Tashnagtsutiune [Bolshevism and the Dashnaktsutiun] (Cairo, 1949), p. 81 and interview of emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther.

[21] Dimanshtein, loc. cit., p. 11.

concealed at the time from the knowledge of most Party members.[22] It is probable that nationalist sentiment and loyalties of the top leaders of the Armenian Party to each other were factors at work in the Stepanian affair.

The culmination of the purges in Armenia during this period was reached in 1936-1937, when both Khanchian and Ter Gabrielian, according to Soviet report, "committed suicide." The causes for the death of these men are not entirely clear, but it is probable that nationalist sentiments and personal loyalties were important factors at work. The following account is derived largely from the reports of Soviet Armenian emigrés.

In the early thirties Soviet Armenia was not directly linked by railroad lines with Soviet Azerbaijan; all railroad communication between the two republics had to pass through Tiflis in Georgia. According to one emigré report, Ter Gabrielian worked out a plan for the construction of a railroad between Erivan and Akstafa in Azerbaijan. After this plan was approved by the Central Committee of Armenia, Khanchian and Ter Gabrielian took it to Moscow for confirmation. But when Beria of Georgia heard about the plan he objected on the ground that it would harm the interests of Georgia, and he proceeded to

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[22]Lalaian, 1936, p. 50.

Moscow with the demand that the plan be pigeonholed. Soon after Ter Gabrielian returned to Erivan, but Khanchian stayed behind in Moscow for a few days. When Khanchian returned he declared that the construction of the railroad would endanger friendly relations between Armenia and Georgia. Ter Gabrielian then made an excuse to leave again for Moscow, where he contacted his friend Lazar Kaganovich, a member of the Politburo. Together they persuaded Stalin of the benefits the railroad could bring to all Transcaucasia. Stalin agreed to the construction of the railroad, but since it had not been budgeted in the Second Five Year Plan, it was to be financed by an additional levy on the cognac and wine produced in Armenia. Director of the Ararat Distillery, to increase production of cognac and put an excise tax on all liquors sold inside Armenia.[23] These measures netted a considerable sum for railroad construction, which began in 1933.[24]

Another emigré reports that in order to obtain sufficient construction materials for the railroad and

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[23]Haroot, loc. cit., pp. 135-136.

[24]Armenia (S.S.R.), Sovet narodnykh komissarov, Materialy k otchetu pravitel'stva SSR Armenii (1929-34) k VIII s'ezdu sovetov [Materials for a Report of the Government of the Armenian S.S.R. (1929-34) to the Eighth Congress of Soviets] (Erivan, 1935), p. 72. Hereafter cited as SA Materialy, 1929-34.

other public works in Armenia, Khanchian secretly had materials removed from the railroad supply warehouses in Armenia. Since the railroads in Armenia and their equipment were at this time under the jurisdiction of the Transcaucasian Federation, Khanchian's act amounted to stealing.[25]

Beria again put pressure on Moscow in order to stop the construction of the Erivan-Akstafa railroad. Both he and Khanchian again went to Moscow. When Khanchian returned he summoned the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Armenia, which then condemned Ter Gabrielian for acting unilaterally in getting the railroad project approved and for "squandering federal funds." The construction of the railroad was halted. Ter Gabrielian was removed from his post as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and given a job in Moscow in the Union Commissariat of Light Industry. Gouloyan was appointed as his successor. The Director of the Ararat Distillery, Vardanian, was also removed from his post.[26] Emigré sources do not date these events, but a Soviet source mentioned in December, 1935

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[25]Interview of emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther.

[26]Haroot, loc. cit., p. 136.

that Gouloyan was the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Armenia.[27]

Aghasi Khanchian died on July 9, 1936. According to an emigré report his body was found in his hotel room by Gouloyan and Amadouni, Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia. There was a rumor that the autopsy verdict ascribed the death to murder.[28] A Soviet source declared that Khanchian left a suicide note in which he said that he had permitted a shameful mistake in allowing Stepanian to be cleared of accusations against him.[29] On July 11 the Transcaucasian Regional Committee of the Communist Party announced that the death of Khanchian was an act of suicide, and as such, an act unworthy of a leader of the Party. It declared that Khanchian had "permitted a number of political slips in his work by failing in his vigilance in ferreting out and exposing nationalist elements." It mentioned that Khanchian's physical condition had deteriorated as a result of a serious case of tuberculosis.

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[27]Priem delegatsii trudiashchikhsia SSR Armenii rukovoditeliami partii i pravitel'stva v Kremle 30 dek. 1935 [Reception of the Delegation of the Workers of the Armenian S.S.R. by the Leaders of the Party and Government in the Kremlin, Dec. 30, 1935] (Moscow, 1935). The pages of this work are not numbered. Hereafter cited as Priem v Kremle.

[28]Haroot, loc. cit., p. 133.

[29]Dimanshtein, loc. cit., p. 10.

On the night of July 12 an extraordinary session of the aktiv of the Communist Party of Armenia was held in Erivan. (The aktiv was an ad hoc body of party members and sympathizers.) The aktiv condemned Khanchian for committing suicide and for his "nationalist errors and entanglements." An emigré reports that this meeting was held under the direction of unnamed persons from Moscow and Tiflis. On the night of July 12 police cleared the streets of central Erivan, and then a car took Khanchian's body to the cemetery. The grave was covered with cement and guards were posted over it. Two days later it was learned that Gouloyan, Chairman of the Council of Peopl's Commissars, and Dourkarian, chief of police, had been arrested by border guards as they tried to cross into Persia with false papers. Many arrests and executions followed.[30]

The new Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, A. Amadouni, made a comprehensive statement concerning the death of Khanchian and others who had been executed at a meeting of the aktiv of the Party organization of Erivan on October 2, 1936. Khanchian was accused of being conciliatory toward nationalist elements in Armenia. It was declared that he had told the editors of Khorhrtayin Hayasdan, the leading newspaper of Armenia, that

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[30]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., pp. 58-59.

there was no need to print any more articles against the Dashnaks. He was reported to have tolerated the element among the Armenian intelligentsia which had stressed the revolutionary services of the Dashnaktsutiun to the Armenian people in the past.[31] Khanchian was also reported to have told the Armenian Commissar of Education, Drastamat Ter Simonian,

> In the event that Soviet authority should undergo a catastrophe, the Dashnaks are the only real force which can take over the government. Of course, if anything happens you and I will escape and the ruler of the Armenian people will be the Dashnaktsutiun.[32]

It was also revealed that Khanchian had carried on a correspondence with Chobanian, a leader of the Armenian Ramgavar Party in Paris. (The Ramgavar Party was an Armenian nationalist party which was less anti-Soviet than the Dashnaktsutiun.) In 1933 Chobanian had written to Khanchian urging him to speak as little as possible about the Dashnaks in his articles and speeches. He advised Khanchian in 1936 to present the question to Soviet authorities of widening the boundaries of Armenia to include the districts of Ani, Ararat, and Kars (within Turkish jurisdiction), Akhalkalak (within Georgian jurisdiction), Nakhichevan and Karabakh (within Azerbaijani jurisdiction). Khanchian sent a reply

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[31]Navasartian, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

[32]Ibid., p. 10.

to the letter, but what he wrote is unknown.[33]

Many government officials, Party members, teachers, and writers were purged in connection with the death of Khanchian. The government officials and Party members who were purged included: Ruben Dashtoyan, Secretary of the Central Executive Committee; Matinian, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee; Sako Hampartsumian, former Chairman of the Central Executive Committee and former Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; Drastamat Ter Simonian, Nersik Stepanian, and Ardo Yeghiazarian, former Commissars of Education; and Melik Hovsepian, Chairman of the State Political Administration (G.P.U.) of Armenia.[34]

The "misdeeds" of Sahak Ter Gabrielian in connection with the railroad again came up for scrutiny. While in Moscow, Ter Gabrielian had kept company with S. Srabionian (Lugashin), former Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Armenia. Lugashin was now referred to in Soviet sources as a "specifist," which probably meant that he was suspected of nationalist deviations. Moughdousi, head of the secret police of Armenia, offered to re-examine the case of Ter Gabrielian, and Stalin told Ter Gabrielian to return to Armenia. When the latter arrived in Armenia

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[33] Lalaian, 1936, p. 51.

[34] Haroot, loc. cit., p. 136; Interview of emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther; and A. Darian, "Distinguished Armenians Purged by the Soviet," Armenian Review, V, No. 3 (1952), 80.

in the middle of 1937 he was immediately arrested and interrogated. He denied that he had squandered any federal funds, and declared that both Khanchian and Moughdousi had actually favored the railroad project at one time. During the interrogation Ter Gabrielian was either killed and thrown from a third story window, or else he jumped from the window.[35]

Three days later Anastas Mikoyan, an Armenian member of the Politburo in Moscow, Andrei Vyshinsky, Prosecuting Attorney of the Soviet Union, Grigor Arutinian, Secretary of the Politburo of the Tiflis Party organization, and Markarian, Editor of the newspaper, Soviet Georgia, arrived in Erivan after consulting Beria in Tiflis.[36] A Dashnak source reports that they brought with them some armed Georgian and Azerbaijani secret policemen.[37] Moughdousi was arrested and his assistant, Abrahamian, committed suicide before he could be arrested.[38] A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia was summoned in September, 1937. Mikoyan, Georgi Malenkov,

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[35] Haroot, loc. cit., p. 137.

[36] Ibid., pp. 133 and 138.

[37] K. Sahagian, "May 28, 1952," Armenian Review, V, No. 4 (1952), 69.

[38] Haroot, loc. cit., p. 133.

Head of the Personnel Section of the Central Committee of the Union Communist Party, and Lavrentia Beria, member of the Central Committee of the Union Party, were present at this meeting.[39] A report of the activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia was submitted by Amadouni, its First Secretary. Then Mikoyan presented evidence that Amadouni had concealed his connections with oppositionists, especially "specifists." Amadouni was surrounded by secret policemen and arrested. K. Arutinian (Arutinov) was then elected First Secretary of the Central Committee; Markarian was elected Second Secretary; and M. Khvorostian (Khvorostov), former head of the ninety-first section of the Moscow secret police, was appointed head of the secret police of Armenia. Gouloyan, Amadouni, Moughdousi, and many others were purged at this time as "enemies of the people."[40]

It is interesting that Stalin sent Mikoyan to direct the 1937 purges in Armenia. Mikoyan was both an Armenian and one of Stalin's most trusted protegés. Mikoyan, Arutinian, and Khvorostian were all Armenians who had held high positions outside Armenia. Stalin evidently wanted to govern Armenian through men who were familiar with the Armenian language and Armenian customs, but who

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[39]"Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika [The Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic], Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[40]Haroot, loc. cit., pp. 138-139.

had not developed personal loyalties to those of lesser rank within Armenia proper. Khanchian and Ter Gabrielian had been such men when they first arrived in Armenia, but they had fallen victim to intrigues and/or to personal loyalties and nationalist sentiments which they developed while in office. There were thus two waves of purges in Armenia during the period 1929-1936, and both were designed for the purpose of securing the control of the country in the hands of Armenians trusted by the central authorities of the Soviet Union.

Economic Developments

Soviet Economic Policies

During the period of the New Economic Policy the Soviet government had retained important controls over the economy of Armenia. It exercised overall economic control through its monopoly on banking and through taxation. In addition it operated most of the large-scale industries and hydroelectric establishments of the country as well as an extensive wholesale-retail commercial network. But it was not until the introduction of the First Five Year Plan in 1928 that the economy of Armenia as a whole was directed, coordinated, and controlled by the government in conformity with an overall economic plan for the Soviet Union.

The First Five Year Plan involved more than governmental direction and control of the economy. Agriculture was reorganized and the collective farm replaced the individual peasant household as the basic productive unit. Industrialization was carried out at a rapid rate, and industrial capital was raised by the curtailment of consumption. Definite production quotas were established; in order to extract the last ounce of energy from the workers the government increased wage differentials, introduced the piece-work system, encouraged "socialist competition," and conducted an intensive propaganda campaign.

The First Five Year Plan officially went into operation in October, 1928, but the specific plan for Soviet Armenia was not formally adopted by the Armenian Congress of Soviets until April, 1929.[41] There were many reasons for the adoption of the Plan. First of all, it was designed to prevent the economic dominance of the capitalist areas in the economy which had developed during the period of the New Economic Policy. It provided for the transformation of small-scale peasant economy into a socialist system of production and for the destruction of the economic basis of the traditional family and village. It provided for rapid industrialization in order that the

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[41] "Armîanskaîa Sotsialisticheskaîa Sovetskaîa Respublika," Bol'shaîa Sovetskaîa Entsiklopediîa, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

Soviet peoples would no longer lag behind the Western capitalist nations in industrial power and economic well-being. It provided for the extraction of most industrial capital from local resources because sufficient long-term credits were not available from the powerful Western nations. When Ter Gabrielian was asked why it was necessary to industrialize at such speed and to demand such terrible sacrifices from the people, he declared:

> Because we are obliged to succeed QUICKLY. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides. If we don't succeed quickly the enemy will overtake us.... Our people are obliged to make sacrifices in order to build their house and put it in order. After that they will enjoy life as they wish.[42]

Agriculture

A key project in the First Five Year Plan was the collectivization of agriculture. There had been collective farms in Armenia before 1929, but never before had they been created with so much ruthlessness, energy, and determination. At the beginning of the plan period the collective farm was a new institution for virtually all the peasants of Armenia. There were three kinds of collective farms: the artel, the agricultural commune, and the association for joint cultivation of land (TOZ). In the artel, land was socialized but parts of it were allocated to individual households within the artel for

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[42]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 42.

private use; the means of production belonged either to the state, to the artel, or to individual artel members; part of the labor of the artel members was devoted to private plots and part to cooperative work on communal land; and dwelling places and personal belongings were privately owned. In the agricultural commune there was no private property and all land, means of production, and labor were socialized. In the TOZ labor was socialized but the means of production were private.[43] In 1930 communes and TOZ's together accounted for 40% of all kolkhozy in Armenia,[44] but by January, 1932, artely accounted for 90% of the total.[45] The government decided that the commune was too socialistic for the current economic stage, while the TOZ was not socialistic enough.[46] By 1934 the artel and the kolkhoz were practically synonymous.

Within the kolkhoz there was a strict division of labor. All workers were organized into brigades, which in turn were divided into "links." Each brigade and link

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[43]A. Vucinich, Soviet Economic Institutions (Stanford, 1952), p. 57.

[44]Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniîû natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika VKP(b) v tsifrakh [The National Policy of the All-Union Communist Party in Figures] (Moscow, 1930), pp. 76-77. Hereafter cited as Kom. akad. stat.

[45]Khanchian, op. cit., p. 78.

[46]Vucinich, op. cit., p. 58.

usually kept at the same task during the entire season and was responsible for a specified portion of kolkhoz property.[47] By a government decree of February, 1933 kolkhoz labor was divided into seven vertical categories according to the degree of skill and amount of labor required for specified tasks. Remuneration was according to the number of work-days accredited to a worker, but persons in the more highly skilled categories were credited for more work-days during a given period than those in the relatively unskilled categories. For instance, for one day of satisfactory work a kolkhoz worker in the highest category received credit for two work-days, while a worker in the lowest category received credit for only one-half work-day. In this way the income of individual kolkhoz members was highly differentiated. Husbands and wives, parents and working children, were separately remunerated. This system was designed to destroy the traditional egalitarianism and patriarchalism of the village and to provide incentives for improving skills and increasing productivity.[48]

Theoretically, the highest internal authority in the kolkhoz was the general meeting of all working kolkhoz

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[47]B. Moore, Soviet Politics--The Dilemma of Power (Cambridge, 1950), p. 341.

[48]Vucinich, op. cit., p. 73.

members over the age of sixteen years. This body chose the kolkhoz chairman and the managing board.[49] In practise, however, the kolkhoz chairman was often appointed by the government from among politically trustworthy urban workers.[50] The kolkhoz general meeting had the following powers and functions: (1) the admission and expulsion and kolkhoz members; (2) the preparation of the kolkhoz budget and production plan; (3) the conclusion of all agreements with organizations outside the kolkhoz; (4) the determination of the norms of output and ranking of various kolkhoz jobs; and (5) the prescribing of the internal rules of the kolkhoz.[51] In practise, however, the kolkhoz was controlled by the Communist Party through local Party organizations and the district government authorities. The kolkhoz meeting usually rubber-stamped the production plan drawn up by the district authorities. The approval of the district authorities was required for the expulsion of a kolkhoz member, the kolkhoz budget, the contract between the kolkhoz and the local Machino-Tractor Station (M.T.S.) and all decisions of the kolkhoz meeting and management. The agronomists attached to the district soviet

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[49] Ibid., p. 59.

[50] Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîûza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, Spravochnik partrabotnika v derevne [Guide for the Party Worker in the Country] (Tiflis, 1932), pp. 90-92 and Moore, op. cit., p. 334.

[51] Vucinich, op. cit., p. 59.

and to the M.T.S. "counselled" the kolkhoz in the prescribing of annual production plans, work allocation, agricultural technique, income distribution, and the selection of skilled technical workers.[52]

The members of the kolkhoz could not alienate kolkhoz land, which was considered the collective property of the people. A certain part of the communal production of the kolkhoz had to be sold to the government at a fixed price, and the balance could be sold in the open market. The produce of kolkhoz land in private use might also be sold on the open market.[53]

The government used a variety of techniques to transform traditional patterns of behavior so that kolkhoz production quotas would be met and loyalty to the Soviet regime would be developed. Propaganda was carried on by the mass communication media (press, radio, movies, theater) in order to develop desirable attitudes. The Party sent agitators to address kolkhoz meetings, clubs, and brigades. Kolkhoz members were encouraged to join various secondary organizations (cultural and athletic clubs, welfare organizations, youth organizations, etc.) in order that they become conscious of their role in the

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[52]Ibid., pp. 61-63.

[53]A. G. Mazour, Russia, Past and Present (New York, 1951), p. 524.

overall construction of the socialist system. Coercion was employed in the form of government orders directed through the district authorities and backed by the threat of fines and imprisonment. If a kolkhoz member did not fulfill his labor norm he might be sentenced by the courts to corrective labor.[54] The production records of kolkhozy were given wide publicity, and those which failed to meet their quotas were subjected to an increased bombardment of propaganda and to increased government manipulation. Kolkhozy which over-fulfilled their quotas were given privileges and material rewards.

At first collectivization was on a voluntary basis, but widespread forced collectivization began in the winter of 1929-1930. Party and trade union members, young Communists and students were sent to the villages both to persuade and coerce peasants to join the kolkhozy. The right of individual peasants to rent land and to hire labor was abolished and the land of many kulaki was confiscated. Kulaki who resisted were arrested and deported. Whole kulak families were herded into open railroad cars during the freezing winter of 1929-1930 for deportation from Armenia.[55] According to an Armenian emigré, about 25,000

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[54]Vucinich, op. cit., pp. 87-89.

[55]Martiros, "Fugitive from Tyranny," Armenian Review, VI, No. 2 (1953), 88.

Armenian peasants who resisted collectivization were sent into exile.[56]

The following account of forced collectivization in an Armenian village is given by a Soviet Armenian emigré. The author witnessed these events as a student who had been sent to the village to agitate in favor of collectivization. One winter evening a special session of the village soviet was summoned. Before the meeting began, covered automobiles carrying armed men entered the village. The newcomers wore military cloaks and caps with a red star on the front. When the meeting convened the leader of the newcomers sat at the chairman's table, while his assistants stationed themselves in the back corners of the room. After the chairman had conducted the preliminary business of the meeting, the floor was given to the leader of the newcomers, who announced that today the village was to have a fresh revolution and that the village kulaki were to be finally overthrown. When he mentioned the name of Stalin, all those present rose until he bade them to sit down.

> The new-comer harangued his audience on wholly unknown and abstruse questions, interspersing his speech with frequent quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He spoke with animation, stressing each important word or sentence, and at times stopping for effect, scanning the faces of his listeners to see if they were taking it in.[57]

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[56] Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 56.

[57] H. Gerounian, "Armenia Under Soviet Rule," Armenian Review, I, No. 3 (1948), 5.

The meeting ended at midnight and afterward the armed newcomers and the Communists and Komsomol members of the village were divided into small groups, each with private instructions. One of the armed men told the student agitators,

> Meetings are not the important thing. They did not send you here to swell attendance, but to work. Do you understand? Work. To persuade, and if they refuse to be persuaded, then bring them to their senses by terror.[58]

Each group went from house to house, expelling kulaki and their families. Peasants who refused to join the kolkhoz were arrested, and one man who resisted was shot on the spot. The wife of a kulak who had given birth to a child only two days before was evicted from her house. She appealed to the chairman of the village soviet, who had once been the farmhand of her father and her lover, but he could do nothing to help her.

After the armed men left the village with their prisoners, the men of the village gathered around their hearths and around campfires in the streets, discussing what had happened. Men from the outskirts of the village came to join them, bringing news. Once peasant began to slaughter all his livestock. The students, who had been left behind, were horrified at what they had seen. They had been ordered

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[58] Ibid.

not to mention the "incident" when they returned to the city.[59]

Aghasi Khanchian criticized kolkhoz leadership in 1932 for not taking into consideration "local variations." Cases of peasants leaving the kolkhozy had been reported. The chairman of one village kolkhoz had been changed seven times in one year. Kolkhoz leaders were condemned for not developing a rapport with kolkhoz members. "Often the kolkhozniki [kolkhoz members] do not feel themselves masters of the kolkhoz," he declared.[60] Apparently many of the men appointed by the government to run the kolkhozy were unskilled in psychological manipulation. The Communists wanted the kolkhozniki to feel themselves masters of the kolkhoz, but of course the Party was the real master and wished to remain so.

As a result of Communist efforts, the proportion of peasant households in kolkhozy increased from 9.9% of all peasant household in 1928 to 80.5% in 1936 (See Table 12). The number of kolkhozy increased from fifty-five in 1928 to 1,065 in 1936. Middle peasants accounted for 43% of all

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[59] Ibid., pp. 4-11, passim.

[60] Kommunisticheskaîa partiîa sovetskogo soîuza, Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet, op. cit., pp. 90-92.

TABLE 12

THE SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1928-1936

Indices	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
1. Number of kolkhozy	55[a]	178[b]	380[b]	778[f]	892[a]	900[a]	957[a]	....[i]	1,065[f]
2. Percent of total sown land in the kolkhozy	....	2.7[c]	9.7[c]	20.7[c]	38.2[g]	39.1[g]	47.2[g]	61.0[g]	.....
3. Percent of total peasant households in the kolkhozy	0.9[b]	2.5[b]	9.4[c]	24.1[c]	37.5[g]	38.2[g]	45.2[g]	76.5[g]	80.5[g]
4. Number of sovkhozy	11[a]	15[d]	....	45[d]	68[a]	70[a]	64[a]	.....	.....
5. Percent of total sown land in the sovkhozy	0.2[b]	0.4[c]	2.0[c]	2.5[c]	5.7[c]	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. Number of Machino-Tractor Stations	none	none	1[a]	4[a]	7[a]	10[a]	15[a]	18[h]	22[f]

a. Armenia, Sovet narodnykh komissarov, Materialy k otchetu pravitel'stva SSR Armenii (1929-34) k VIII s'ezdu sovetov (Erivan, 1935), pp. 44 and 160-169.

b. Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow. Komissiîa po izucheniîû natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika V.K.P. (b.) v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), pp. 72-73 and 78.

c. A. Lalaian, "XIII godovshchina Sovetskoi Armenii i sotsialisticheskaîa rekonstruktsiîa ee sel'skogo khoziîaistva," Revoliûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 6 (1933), p. 149.

d. A. Khanchian, H.G.(p.)G. Gendgomi hashvedvoutiune 8-rt hamakoumaroum (Erivan, 1932), p. 71.

e. "Armîanskaîa Sotsialisticheskaîa Sovetskaîa Respublika," Bol'shaîa Sovetskaîa Entsiklopediîa, Vol. III, 2nd ed., p. 67.

f. A. Lalaian, "Proekt Stalinskoi Konstitutsii SSR i rastsvet Sovetskoi Armenii," Revoliûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 4 (1936), p. 42.

g. Armenia, Upravlenie narodno-khoziîaistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1935), pp. 121 and 128-129.

h. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

i. No data available, indicated by .....

households in kolkhozy in January, 1932.[61] The average number of households per kolkhoz increased from 19.7 in 1928 to 109.4 in 1935.[62] It was announced in 1933 that the kulaki were destroyed as a class in Armenia.[63] In 1935 only 0.55% of the population were considered kulaki and urban bourgeosie.[64]

Two and a half months after the death of Khanchian the New York Times reported a change in Soviet kolkhoz policy in Armenia. Armenian kolkhozy (and independent farms as well) were excepted from paying income tax or making any deliveries of produce to the government for four years. It is probable that this leniency was prompted by the desire of the central authorities to secure the support of the Armenian peasantry during the period when the government,

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[61]Khanchian, op. cit., p. 78.

[62]Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozîâistvennog ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh [15 Years of Soviet Armenia in Figures] (Erivan, 1935), p. xxviii. Hereafter cited as Armenia, 15 let.

[63]Lalaian, "XIII godovshchina Sovetskoi Armenii i sotsialisticheskaîâ rekonstruktsiîâ ee sel'skogo khozîâistva," p. 152. Hereafter cited as Lalaian, 1933.

[64]Armenia, 15 let, p. xxviii.

Party, and intelligentsia of Armenia were being thoroughly purged.[65]

Another agricultural institution which developed during the period 1929-1936 was the state farm, or sovkhoz. The sovkhoz was administered directly by the government and its managers were appointed by, and directly responsible to, the proper state authorities. All the means of production of the sovkhoz belonged to the state. Sovkhoz workers were hired workers, paid from state funds on the basis of quantity and quality of labor on a piecework basis. The position of sovkhoz workers was similar to that of factory workers in that they were organized in trade unions and were included in the system of state social security and social insurance. The administration of the sovkhoz was similar to that of a factory: the director executed the orders of the central sovkhoz organs according to cost-accounting principles.[66] The Communists deliberately tried to make the medical, recreational, cultural, and educational facilities of the sovkhozy better than those of the kolkhozy, for the sovkhoz was considered the model for the future

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[65]The New York Times, September 20, 1936, Sec. 12, 11:4.

[66]Vucinich, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

organization of agriculture.[67]

The role of the sovkhoz in the Soviet system was (1) to provide a secure source of grain and other agricultural produce for the government; (2) to serve as a model of the best agricultural technology and of socialist agriculture; (3) to directly assist the kolkhozy in performing their work.[68] In 1933 political departments were attached to the sovkhozy in order to (1) purge sovkhozy and kolkhozy of anti-Soviet elements; (2) to educate the non-Party members of the kolkhozy; (3) to see that kolkhozy fulfilled their obligations to the government and distributed labor and income "correctly"; and (4) to protect public property from kulaki and other anti-Soviet elements.[69] It may be concluded that the sovkhoz was not an isolated unit, but an influential directing agency in the new Soviet agricultural system.

The sovkhozy had their own farm machinery and their production was highly mechanized. They played an especially important role in animal husbandry in Armenia.[70] By 1934 they accounted for 4% of all cereal production and 2.5% of

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[67] Ibid., p. 111.

[68] Ibid., p. 99.

[69] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 36 and Lalaian, 1933, p. 155.

[70] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 36.

all production of technical cultures.[71]

Another Soviet agricultural institution, the Machino-Tractor Station (M.T.S.) was described in an Armenian government report as the "decisive link in the conversion to socialist agriculture."[72] It was the principal missionary outpost of Socialism in the Armenian countryside. The M.T.S. was a state-owned and operated enterprise with the economic function of supplying the kolkhozy with agricultural machinery. Through mechanization kolkhoz production was to be raised far above the level of independent peasant production. But the M.T.S. also had vital political tasks. After 1933 it had a political department with the same functions as those of the political department of the sovkhoz. In some parts of Armenia the head of the political department of the M.T.S. would visit the kolkhozy in his area every day to give them "operative leadership and directions."[73]

The employees of the M.T.S. included a staff of permanent administrators and technicians, together with

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[71] Ibid., p. 40.

[72] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 36.

[73] Lalaian, 1933, p. 156.

kolkhozniki who were employed seasonally to run the tractors. The productive work of the M.T.S. was carried on by tractor brigades manned by kolkhozniki, who carried out the assignments given them by the M.T.S. administration.[74]

In 1929 the greater part of the agricultural machinery of Armenia was assembled in a "tractor park." Most of the machines were old, worn-out, imported tractors. They were distributed by the park among the separate sovkhozy and kolkhozy.[75] The first M.T.S., in the proper sense, was founded in Armenia in the spring of 1930. By 1934 the M.T.S.'s served almost half of the kolkhozy in Armenia.[76] At that time there were 437 tractors in the M.T.S.'s and another 869 tractors in the Tractor Park of Armenia.[77] The Soviets claimed that of all fields in Armenia, only 14% were ploughed by the primitive wooden plough in 1934, and that these fields were mostly in mountainous regions where the terrain made difficult the use of farm machinery.[78]

The sovkhoz and M.T.S. made valuable contributions to the improvement of agricultural technique in Armenia.

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[74]Vucinich, op. cit., pp. 114 and 118.

[75]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 38.

[76]Ibid., p. 46.

[77]Ibid., pp. 160-169.

[78]Ibid., p. 43.

But the political functions of these institutions were equally important. Urban Party workers attached to the M.T.S. and the sovkhoz were in general considered more trustworthy than indigenous rural Party members. The Party was generally weak in the countryside: in January, 1932, only 129 of the 800 kolkhozy in Armenia had a Party cell. Many new members had been recently added to village Party cells--a total of 3,139 between 1929 and 1932--and these new members were as yet untested. The M.T.S., the sovkhoz, and the larger kolkhozy served as headquarters for Party village committees, which sought to make up for the deficiencies in rural Party membership by exercising over-all control of the political work in their respective areas.[79]

Industry

The importance of large-scale industry in Armenia greatly increased during the period 1929-1936. Thousands of new workers were drawn into Soviet factories, which served as important agencies in the transformation of traditional patterns of behavior.

The Soviet factory was operated directly by the state. Its manager received orders from the appropriate branches of the government, was given production quotas to fulfill, and sold his products at prices fixed by the

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[79]Khanchian, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

government. However, the manager was encouraged to exercise initiative in lowering the costs of production by increasing productive efficiency. Part of the money saved by cost reduction was put in the "manager's fund." The manager used this fund to improve living conditions of the workers and for individual bonuses, but he could not spend any of it on himself. He was rewarded for his own achievements, as were other top factory administrators and technicians, by special bonuses from the government.[80]

In order to encourage factory workers to maximize their output, the government initiated a system of differential wages, "socialist competitition," and "shock work." Workers were classed according to their skill and the importance and difficulty of their work and were paid accordingly. Wages were further differentiated within a given classification by a piece-work system of remuneration. "Shock workers," who greatly exceeded their quotas of output, were given bonuses and other privileges. Premiums were also given to "Stakhanovite" workers who suggested improvements in the technology of the productive process and improvements in the instruments of production. Individual workers and groups of workers were encouraged to compete in the

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[80]Moore, op. cit., p. 306.

maximization of output. Thus, the profit motive and the desire to surpass one's fellow workers were made the prime operative incentives in the Soviet factory.

The system of shock work and socialist competition was also adopted in many kolkhozy, sovkhozy, and M.T.S.'s. By December, 1935, there were about 150,000 shock workers in Armenia.[81] Kolkhoz shock workers held their first congress in June, 1933.[82] By June, 1934, three-fourths of all hired workers in industry, construction and transport in Armenia were included in the system of socialist competition and shock work, as well as 86.6% of all hired workers in agriculture.[83]

Soviet factory workers were almost entirely unionized during the early thirties. Of all manual and white collar workers, 97% were included in the unions of Armenia by 1935.[84] The unions had no power to negotiate wage scales or working conditions. They had no influence on factory employment policy, for workers were employed individually by the management and signed individual contracts. In effect the unions were a special adjunct of the

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[81] Priem v Kremle.

[82] "Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedi͡ia, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[83] SA Mateialy, 1929-34, p. 94.

[84] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 2-3.

factory management: their functions were (1) to rally the workers around Soviet goals by propaganda and agitation; (2) to increase labor productivity by teaching workers new skills and putting pressure on lagging workers; (3) to act as social welfare agencies by managing social insurance, sponsoring cultural and sports activities, caring for worker housing, and improving labor safety devices.[85] The unions also operated rest homes and sanatoriums, creches, kindergartens, and a hot lunch service in some schools. They paid out pensions, disability compensations, and "supplementary relief" from union funds.[86]

By 1934 the working day in Armenia had been reduced from eight to seven hours, and the number of rest days was increased. However, industrial operation was converted from a five-day to a six-day week.[87] However, it is probable that employees were encouraged to work overtime for bonuses and that many of them did so in order to make ends meet.

According to a Soviet report, unemployment disappeared in Armenia. Not only did unemployment disappear, but supplementary labor resources had to be found. New

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[85]Vucinich, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[86]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 97.

[87]Ibid., pp. 95 and 99.

workers were recruited from the surplus rural population, from among former hired workers in private enterprises, from among artisans, from among adolescents who had finished technical training, and from among women who had previously not engaged in paid work.[88]

Not only were large numbers of new workers brought into the large-scale state industries, but the artisans of Armenia were organized into producers' cooperatives. State control of the artisan cooperatives was indirect, as in the case of the kolkhozy. The members of the cooperatives were paid for their work from the resources of the cooperatives. In theory the cooperative was controlled by the general meeting of its members, who elected a managing board; but in practise these bodies were subordinate to the government, and were under the supervision of the district soviets. The functions of the artisan cooperatives were to supplement government production, to draw the traditionally individualistic artisans into the orbit of socialism, to recruit skilled workers for large-scale industry, and to serve as potential industrial establishments.[89] There were

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[88] Ibid., p. 94.

[89] Vucinich, op. cit., p. 132.

fourteen artisan cooperatives in Armenia, employing 6,331 artisans, in 1934. Their activities included metal working, leather working, tailoring, food processing, and textile production.[90]

Soviet economic policies and methods in the period 1929-1936 may now be summarized. The Soviet goals were the reorganization of economic institutions on a socialist basis, the raising of economic productivity, and the building up of a strong large-scale industrial base. As industry expanded, the Soviet factory was to exert an increased influence in the socialist transformation. In addition, three new agricultural institutions--the kolkhoz, the sovkhoz, and the M.T.S.--were created to replace the individual peasant household and village commune as the basic units of agricultural production. The entire economy of Armenia was coordinated and controlled within an overall plan for the Soviet Union. Production was stimulated by mechanization, coercion, propaganda, agitation, differential wages, shock work, and socialist competition. This entire economic program was carried out with unprecedented speed, ruthlessness, and determination. The next problem is to determine how successful the Soviet government was in attaining its goals in Armenia.

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[90]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 29.

Economic Trends

By 1936 the great majority of Armenians had been incorporated in Soviet economic institutions of production. Almost all hired workers were in Communist-controlled trade unions. Four-fifths of all peasant household had been collectivized. This meant that the masses of Armenia were far more accessible to Communist manipulation. The institutional basis for a socialist society had been established.

Production increased at a rapid rate in Armenia. The quotas for 1927-1928 were fulfilled 100%, and in 1930-1931 they were fulfilled 207%.[91] The value of the total product of industry and agriculture in Soviet Armenia in 1935 was 225% that of 1928.[92]

By 1934 the total sown area in Armenia had increased to an amount 26.7% greater than that of pre-war Armenia. The sown area in 1934 was 30.4% greater than that of 1928.[93] The gross product of agriculture in 1935 was 132% that of 1928.[94]

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[91] Yeghenian, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

[92] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 2-3.

[93] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 39.

[94] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 6-7.

But Soviet achievements in agriculture were insignificant in comparison with those in industry. In 1935 the value of the gross product of industry was 650% that of 1928.[95] The share of industry in all economic production increased from 21.7% in 1928 to 62.1% in 1935.[96]

Most Armenian large-scale industries produced consumer goods. Half of the production of all state industries consisted of consumer goods in 1926-1927, but by 1935 this proportion had increased to two-thirds.[97] Although the value of the production of heavy industry (principally mining) in Armenia in 1934 was 600% that of 1927-1928, its relative value to total industrial production decreased. The value of the product of capital goods producing industries decreased from one-half of all production in 1926-1927 to one-third of all production in 1934.[98] This trend meant that Armenia was becoming increasingly self-sufficient in the production of articles of everyday use, but increasingly dependent on the Soviet

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[95] Ibid., p. 5.

[96] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[97] Ibid., p. 65.

[98] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 160-169.

Union as a whole for its supply of capital goods. In a sense, this was economic imperialism, if Armenia is thought of as an individual unit. On the other hand, Armenia was becoming one of many interdependent parts of the Soviet economic system, which in theory, at least, was designed for the economic betterment of the Soviet Union as a whole without discrimination as to areas or peoples.

The principal industries of Armenia were those which produced copper, cement, chemicals, textiles, construction stone, synthetic rubber, cleaned cotton, processed foods, and liquors.[99] A large part of Armenian products were sent north to Russia for processing, just as in Tsarist times. The principal industrial centers within Armenia were Erivan, Leninakan, and the mining districts of Allaverdi, Artig, and Kafan.[100] The population of these centers grew rapidly during the period 1929-1936.

The ranks of hired workers were swelled in Armenia during this period of industrialization. The total number of wage and sararied workers increased from 42,473 in 1928[101] to 106,180 in 1935.[102] The total number of all employees in large-scale industry alone amounted to 19,500 persons at

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[99] Armenia, 15 let, p. 65.

[100] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 13.

[101] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[102] Armenia, 15 let, p. xxvii.

the beginning of 1936.[103] This constituted 200% of the number of workers in large-scale industry in 1928 and over 1000% that of 1922.[104] Privately-hired farmhands were absorbed in the M.T.S.'s, sovkhozy, and in lumbering.[105] The number of women in all paid jobs increased from 6,072 in 1928 to 22,001 in 1932, and the proportion of women to all workers in paid jobs increased from 14.5% to 23.4% during this period.[106] By 1935 one-fourth of all trade union members were women.[107]

The expansion of industry and improvements in agricultural technology required an increasing number of trained technicians and administraters. Men and women in these positions constituted the new Soviet elite. In January, 1932 Aghasi Khanchian declared,

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[103] Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissiia, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziaistvennogo ucheta, Socialist Construction in the USSR (Moscow, 1936), p. 103.

[104] S. Martikian, "Sovetskoi Armenii, 15 let," Revoliutsiia i Natsional'nosti, No. 12 (1935), p. 38.

[105] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 94.

[106] Ibid., p. 95.

[107] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 2-3.

> A production-technical intelligentsia of the working class is being formed from the practical work of our factories, from skilled workers, from the cultural forces of the working class.[108]

Many members of the new intelligentsia were of worker or peasant origin. In 1931, for example, almost three-fourths of all students in the tekhnikumy of Armenia were wage workers or their children.[109] On the other hand, most workers were considered as unsuitable for promotion to the higher ranks of industrial management.[110] There was an increasing tendency to employ only the graduates of higher education institutions as administraters and top-rank technicians, rather than promoting men from the ranks to these positions.[111]

The State University and tekhnikumy of Armenia turned out an increasing number of specialists. A total of 3,871 specialists of higher qualification were graduated between 1921 and 1935. Of these, 1,098 were graduated in 1935 alone. Of all graduates during the fifteen year period, 248 were engineers, 597 were agronomists, 711 were physicians,

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[108] Khanchian, op. cit., p. 135.

[109] Ibid., p. 134.

[110] Ibid., p. 135.

[111] Vucinich, op. cit., pp. 24-25 and 81-82.

615 were veternarians, 891 were teachers, 342 were economists 443 were political workers, and twenty-four were art workers. In addition, 10,599 specialists of middle qualification were graduated from tekhnikumy, rabfaki, and factory schools during the fifteen year period.[112]

Special attention was given to the training of agricultural workers during the early thirties. By 1934 there were two schools for kolkhoz accountants, a school for tractor experts, and twelve district schools for the preparation of farm managers and brigade leaders. In addition, short term courses for improving the skills of the kolkhozniki were organized each year.[113] Between 1930 and 1935 a total of 2,118 kolkhoz chairmen, 857 farm administrators, and 4,147 bookkeepers, instructors and warehousemen had been graduated from Soviet agricultural schools.[114] A total of 67,840 persons were considered as agricultural specialists in 1935, the great majority of whom had been trained in short term courses.[115] This trend toward specialization in agriculture meant that the rural

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[112] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 206-207.

[113] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 54.

[114] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 170-171.

[115] Ibid., pp. 172-173.

population of Armenia was becoming increasingly stratified into social categories according to Soviet criteria: training, skill, and productivity.

The construction of irrigation and hydroelectric projects was intensified during the period 1929-1936. These projects were of particular importance in Armenia because land was scarce and there was a lack of virtually all sources of energy except hydroelectric power. Electrical energy not only made possible the electrification of towns and many rural communities, but also was a vital factor in many industrial operations, such as the extraction of copper from the ore. Hydroelectric projects which had been started during the twenties were finally completed, and a great new project, Kanakirges, was begun in 1930 and completed in 1936.[116] Dzorages, which was begun in 1927, was supplying the industries of Allaverdi and Kirovakan with electricity by 1934.[117] In 1932 the power generated by the electric stations of

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[116] Ibid., p. 50.

[117] M. S. Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii [Journey Through Soviet Armenia] (Moscow, 1951), p. 143.

Armenia was four times that of 1928.[118] Industry accounted for 80% of all electrical power consumption in 1934.[119]

Large areas of land were reclaimed by irrigation during the period 1929-1936. The number of hectares of irrigated land increased from 119,400 in 1928 to 190,000 in 1933. The amount of irrigated land in Armenia in 1933 was double the amount of land irrigated in 1914.[120] The Sardarabad Canal was put in operation in 1931 and the Stalin Canal, in 1932;[121] these great projects served to increase Soviet prestige among the Armenian peasantry.

However, despite the increase in the amount of irrigated land and despite the expansion of industry in Armenia, the pressure of the rural population on the land continued to be intense. This was because of the rapid rate of reproduction among the rural inhabitants of Armenia. The total area of sown land in Armenia in 1938

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[118]"Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[119]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 4.

[120]Ibid., p. 60.

[121]"Armi͡anskai͡a Sotsialisticheskai͡a Sovetskai͡a Respublika," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedii͡a, Vol.III, 2nd ed.

was 132% that of 1928: but the amount of sown land per capita of rural population was only 0.465 hectares in 1928 and only 0.478 hectares in 1938. By way of comparison, the total amount os sown land in the Soviet Union in 1938 was only 121% that of 1928: but the amount of land per capita rural population increased from 0.936 hectares in 1928 to 1.195 hectares in 1938.[122] In order to raise the standard of living in Armenia, agriculture had to be intensified and industry still further expanded. By the end of the thirties the Malthusian problem was still serious in Armenia.

A development of great political and social significance was the expansion of the transportation and communication network of Armenia during the period 1929-1936. Railroad spurs were constructed from the Tiflis-Julfa trunk line to the stone quarries of Artik and the copper mines of Kafan.[123] Construction of the controversial line from Erivan to Akstafa in Azerbaijan was never completed, however, due to the political complications described above. Air service was extended to Armenia in 1934.[124]

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[122] F. Lorimer, The Population of the Soviet Union (Geneva, 1946), p. 159.

[123] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 54-55.

[124] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 2-3.

The network of roads was extended, and by 1934 there were thirty buses and twenty-eight trucks in the country.[125] However, the eastern part of Soviet Armenia remained untouched by railroad lines and the quota of road construction established by the First Five Year Plan was unfulfilled by 38%.[126]

There was a marked improvement in the rapid communications system of Armenia during this period. The number of village soviets having direct telephone connections with Erivan increased from twenty in 1928 to 303 in 1935.[127] There were no district centers having direct telephone connections with Erivan in 1928, but twenty-seven had connections in 1935. The total number of telephones in Armenia increased from 907 in 1928 to 5,014 in 1935. There were two telegraphic transmitting-receiving radio stations in Armenia in 1932, and nine in 1935. A wireless radio broadcasting stations was established in Erivan in 1932.[128] The number of postal-telegraph establishments increased from twenty-eight in 1928 to 166 in 1934. Postal delivery service in rural areas was

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[125] Ibid., pp. 68-73.

[126] Ibid., p. 68.

[127] Armenia, 15 let, p. 5.

[128] Ibid., p. 96.

improved: their were eighty rural postmen in 1928 and 672 in 1934.[129] These improvements in communications facilitated the diffusion of Communist propaganda and the tightening of Communist control in the countryside.

Private capitalist commerce was completely destroyed in Armenia during the period 1929-1936. The proportion of commerce handled by private traders declined from 46.4% in 1924-1925 to nothing in 1935.[130] Commerce was now handled entirely by government commercial establishments and cooperatives. The total number of government commercial establishments increased from forty-nine in 1928 to 720 in 1935. The number of establishments run by cooperatives and other public organizations increased from 463 in 1928 to 1,522 in 1935.[131] There were about 110,000 shareholders in consumer cooperatives in 1928 and 366,500 in 1934.[132]

Despite the increase in consumer goods production in Armenia, there was a severe shortage of consumer goods in the country. The government used

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[129] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 2-3.

[130] Armenia, 15 let, p. 192.

[131] Ibid., p. 187.

[132] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 6-7.

the principle of class discrimination in the distribution of what consumer goods were available. Many cooperatives would sell goods only to workers. After 1934 factory managers were given the right to supply workers through special Divisions of Workers' Supply (ORS); these divisions were organized in six leading industrial establishments in 1934. Kolkhoz products began to reach the market in 1932, and by 1934 the free sale of bread was introduced in Erivan and thirteen districts of Armenia.[133] There was apparently a black market in bread and flour during the early thirties but a visitor to Armenia reported in 1932 that food was more plentiful in Armenia than in Russia and that Armenia on the whole was better off than before World War I.[134] However, there was an acute shortage of clothing, shoes and other consumer goods, and complaints about the quality of available goods were frequent.[135]

Reactions to Soviet Economic Policies

There is an abundance of evidence of resistance to Soviet economic policies, particularly collectivization,

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[133] Ibid., p. 86.

[134] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 66.

[135] Ibid., p. 32.

during the period 1929-1936 in Armenia. A visitor reported in 1932 that when she asked an Armenian peasant why he had not joined a kolkhoz, the peasant replied:

> There are twenty of us in the family, all working hands on the small land. We are a kolkhoz ourselves, we don't need to be called by any new-fangled names.[136]

When collectivization was forced on the Armenian peasants, many resisted. An Armenian emigre reports that 25,000 Armenian peasants who resisted collectivization were exiled during 1929-1930.[137] Some Armenian peasants resorted to open, semi-organized rebellion. Groups of rebel peasants fled to the mountains in Akhda, Daralagiaz, and other districts. According to a Soviet source, during 1930-1931 these bands terrorized pro-Soviet elements in the villages and "stole" kolkhoz property.[138] Armed resistance to collectivization was

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[136] Ibid., p. 155.

[137] Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 56.

[138] A. Lalaian, "Sotsialisticheskoe razvitie Armenii v sisteme SSSR" [Socialist Development of Armenia in the System of the U.S.S.R.], Revolîutsionnyi Vostok, No. 3 (1935), p. 174. Hereafter cited as Lalaian, 1935.

possible in Armenia because of its mountainous terrain and the proximity of a foreign country, Persia, which could give refuge to the rebels in case of need.

The government used Russian troops to put down the rebellion, and rebels were promised pardon if they returned. Resistance did not last long because the rebels were poorly armed and organized. The rebel bands in Zangezur finally retreated to Persia after enduring unceasing land and air attacks. The Soviet government demanded that Persia return the rebels; and in January, 1931, Red troops crossed into Persian Azerbaijan to root them out, according to a Soviet Armenian emigre source.[139] Rebels who were caught or who surrendered were exiled to Siberia.[140]

Another form of resistance to collectivization was the destruction of mulberry trees in the silk-producing areas of Armenia. It was reported by a Soviet source that counter-revolutionaries cut down more than 600,000 mulberry trees in 1931-1932.[141]

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[139]Martiros, loc. cit., pp. 89-91.

[140]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 57.

[141]S.G.Garabedian, Sovedagan Hayasdan [Soviet Armenia] (Erivan, 1940), p. 65.

The most widespread form of resistance to collectivization in Armenia, as in the Soviet Union generally, was the slaughtering of livestock to prevent its being used by the kolkhozy. This form of resistance had disastrous effects on animal husbandry in Armenia. The number of cattle and buffalos in Armenia decreased from 898,400 head in 1928 to 601,900 head in 1933.[142] Sheep and goats numbered 1,776,000 head in 1928 and only 1,490,000 head in 1931.[143] The Armenian government reported in 1935 that

> Of all branches of agriculture, animal husbandry lagged the most in recent years..... The vestige of ruined kulakism chose as a basic method of struggle injurious ways--both in the milieu of the most backward part of the individual peasantry and in some kolkhozy. The criminal murder of cattle, a result of harmful agitation of kulakism, took wide dimensions.[144]

The government met this problem by establishing special sookhozy and kolkhozy for the socialized herds.[145]

It is possible that another index of resistance to collectivization is represented by the decrease in crop yields in Armenia, despite the introduction of new

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[142] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 160-169.

[143] Lalaian, 1933, p. 150.

[144] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 47.

[145] Ibid., p. 49.

agricultural technique. The average yield of spring wheat decreased from 8.0 hundredweights per hectare in 1928 to 6.4 hundredweights in 1934; the potato yield decreased from 98.9 hundredweights in 1928 to 75.7 in 1934; the yield of kitchen garden products decreased from 167.0 hundredweights in 1928 to 81.5 in 1933; and the yield of grapes decreased from 69.1 hundredweights in 1928 to 34.3 in 1932.[146] These decreases in productivity may be partly accounted for by climatic conditions and the cumulative effect of soil exhaustion, but active and passive resistance to collective farming by the peasantry may have been another factor at work.

Resistance to Soviet policies after collectivization continued within the kolkhozy. Khanchian reported in 1932 that kulaki and "illegitimate elements" were undermining kolkhoz work.[147] After January 1933 about 800 kulaki and "sub-kulaks" (pod-kulaki) were expelled from the kolkhozy.[148] A Soviet source reported in 1933 that there were still traces of "petty-bourgeois

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[146] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 160-169.

[147] Khanchian, op. cit., p. 85.

[148] Lalaian, 1935, p. 175.

equalitarianism" in the kolkhozy of Armenia: in some cases shock workers were not being rewarded according to their greater productivity. In one kolkhoz the chairman, accountant and warehouseman received a greater share of the harvest than certain shock workers who had the most work-days to their credit.[149]

It was even reported that some Party members gave aid to those who resisted collectivization. It may be remembered that during the early thirties the Communist Party of Armenia expanded very rapidly; many members were not carefully tested and indoctrinated before admission. Khanchian reported in 1932 that some Party cells had degenerated and even joined the kulaki organizationally and politically in Meghri, Aparan, Leninakan, Veti, Arpa, and other rural districts.[150] According to a Soviet report, one sovkhoz director, a man named Nalbandian, hid forty milk cows from the government and protected the kulaki. This reporter declared that "there are still many Nalbandians in the Communist Party of Armenia."[151] Common suffering and

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[149]Lalaian, 1933, p. 157.

[150]Khanchian, op. cit., p. 130.

[151]Lalaian, 1933, p. 155.

impoverishment during the war years had created the belief in Armenia that all men were brothers--brothers in poverty. For many Communists it was hard to discard this idea, and it was widely believed that there were no kulaki in Armenia.[152]

There were also indications of resistance to Soviet policies in industry and construction work. A Soviet writer reports that conflicts were frequent between workers and administrators at the Dzorages hydroelectric project. The seasonal worker from the countryside was "weak from starvation, languid from malaria and sly." His heart was not in his work, but in the village where his wife and children were. He was forever demanding wage increases.[153] After an unfinished bridge at Dzorages was washed out by spring floods, an investigating committee arrived and many high-ranking technical personnel at the project were dismissed and imprisoned. The instigator of the investigation was M. S. Shaginian, a Soviet Armenian writer, who reported the troubles at Dzorages to the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Commission in Tiflis.

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[152] Zak. sov. mass. rab., pp. 7-8.

[153] M. S. Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e [Soviet Transcaucasia] (Erivan, 1936), pp. 143-144.

After the commission began to order the arrests, M. S. Shaginian wrote the following in her diary:

> I am getting more and more desperate. I know that I ought not to have taken upon myself to be the accuser, because I am weak, kind, and soft-hearted. I know I have played the part of a match thrown into a room full of gas. If truth were the only force at work I would have felt better...but now my words have been immediately caught up, the whole machinery has been set in motion, and trifles have suddenly assumed enormous proportions... I feel like an animal at bay---can it be that I have done wrong?[154]

All the labor troubles of Armenia were not centered at Dzorages. A visitor to Armenia reported in 1932 that the foreman of workers on the construction of the National Theater in Erivan made the following complaint to the architect:

> "Those men are simply lazy, comrade architect," he shouted passionately. "They simply refuse to move. I cannot work with them. He won't bring in the water. The other won't dig. I just won't work with them--can't," and he threw his arms in a gesture of despair.[155]

An official Armenian government report in 1935 pointed out many defects in Armenian industry. A number of industries were criticized for producing defective goods. Losses from warehouses were reported.

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[154]T. Tchernavin, We Soviet Women (New York, 1936), pp. 193-194.

[155]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 34.

The copper industry did not fulfill its planned production quota. It is uncertain to what extent these defects may be attributed to the resistance of industrial employees, but the latter was probably one factor involved.

This same official report declared that by 1934 the basic mass of workers in Armenia had become shock workers who considered labor a matter of valor and honor. It is doubtful that this attitude toward work had been deeply ingrained in the Armenian worker by 1934. At this time a total of 12,182 industrial workers were included in the system of socialist competition and shock work; but only 1,617 of these workers received rewards for fulfilling their obligations under the system.[156] It may be concluded that either the level of achievement necessary for rewards was too high for most workers, or, that most workers did not respond to the reward stimulus.

There can be no doubt that Soviet policies produced remarkable material achievements in Armenia, but these achievements were bought at the price of widespread suffering among the people. Shock work, the lack of consumer goods, and adjustments to new

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[156] SA Materialy, 1929-34, pp. 15-16 and 24.

surroundings and styles of life created many strains and tensions in Armenian society. The villagers were collectivized and the villages reorganized, but the traditional ways of village behavior survived to a large extent.

Social Developments

Soviet Social Policies

The period of the Five Year Plans in Armenia was one of extensive social reorganization. Soviet goals in this period were basically no different from those of the period 1921-1928, but Soviet methods were somewhat changed. New economic institutions--the kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and M.T.S.--were developed as the basis for a socialist rural society. The whole range of Soviet persuasive and coercive techniques was employed with greater intensity. The emphasis in Soviet work among women was now on integrating them in the program of socialist construction.[157] Kinship relations and relations between the sexes were expected to change automatically as society became more industrialized, bureaucratic, and impersonal.

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[157] "Zhenskoe kommunisticheskoe dvizhenie v SSSR" [Women's Communist Movement in the U.S.S.R.] Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Vol. XXV, 1st ed.

During this period rural life was reoriented around the agricultural institutions and the independent peasant household was supplanted as the basic economic unit. The towns and industrial areas were swollen by an influx of new workers from the countryside. Capitalist elements in Armenian society--the private merchant, the kulak, and the farmhand--were deliberately liquidated as social categories. There was created a new technical and administrative intelligentia, composed of persons who had been trained in Soviet institutions. Large numbers of women entered salaried and wage work, and kolkhoz women and men were separately remunerated.

The population of Armenia continued to grow rapidly during this period of industrialization. During the six year period, 1922-1928, the population had increased by 22.7% and during the seven year period, 1928-1935, it increased by another 23.5%.[158] There were 1,281,599 persons in Armenia in 1939, of which 82.8% were Armenians. The urban population amounted to

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[158] Armenia, 15 let, pp. 2-3.

366,400 persons, 28.6% of the total population.[159] (In 1928 only 192,200 persons, 20.1% of the total population, had been counted as urban inhabitants.[160])

Towns were reconstructed according to overall plans during the period 1929-1936. But the rapid growth of the urban population had not been foreseen by city planners, and most towns experienced an acute housing shortage. Housing construction had been relatively neglected in the twenties, and the urban housing shortage was already acute in 1929.[161] Over one-third of all new housing constructed during 1929-34 was performed by industrial enterprises. As was noted above, one of the functions of trade unions was the construction of housing for workers, and a part of the "manager's fund" was used for this purpose. Worker housing cooperative associations accounted for 30% of new construction. A Soviet source mentions that these associations had socio-political as well as economic significance, which probably meant that they carried

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[159]"Armîanskaîa Sotsialisticheskaîa Sovetskaîa Respublika," Bol'shaîa Sovetskaîa Entsiklopediîa, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

[160]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 95.

[161]Ibid., pp. 137-139.

on a program of educating workers in the approved patterns of Soviet behavior. Whole new housing projects were undertaken in Erivan, Leninakan, and in mining centers. The workers and technicians in most branches of industry were provided with a larger average amount of living space than the rest of the population.[162]

Public services were improved in the towns. A streetcar line in Erivan began operating in 1933. All towns and district centers had public baths by 1936. Efforts were made to improve the supply of water and electricity. Streets were cleaned, landscaping was undertaken, and sidewalks were built. By 1934, however, only 16% of the length of the streets of Erivan had been paved or improved.[163]

In the countryside, forty-five kolkhoz villages had been rebuilt by 1936.[164] Electricity had been made available in more rural localities, but the countryside was for the most part not electrified. The new Soviet civilization penetrated village life more

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[162] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[163] Ibid., pp. 134-136.

[164] Lalaian, 1936, p. 48.

deeply, however. A visitor to Armenia reported in 1932 that village girls from the age of fourteen wore white middies and short skirts and that boys wore knickers with Russian boots and blouses. More village soviets had telephones, and radios in the village public square broadcasted music and speeches from Erivan and Moscow. The visitor reported that the young people of the village spent their evenings listening to the broadcasts; while the old people came reluctantly to listen in, unable to resist despite their hatred of the "modernism" these broadcasts portended.[165]

Many village traditions were retained after collectivization. In the kolkhozy the traditional division of labor between the sexes was maintained until the Second World War: women did no field work, but took care of milking, the poultry and household chores.[166] A new occasion for celebration in the kolkhoz village of Degh in Zangezur was its delivery of grain to the government ahead of schedule; the intelligentsia (doctors, engineers, etc) from the nearby town of

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[165]Yeghenian, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

[166]Shaginian, Sovetskoe Zakavkaz'e, p. 395.

Goris attended the celebration as honored guests; but the forms of celebration in the village were still traditional. The banquet foods were traditional foods cooked in traditional ways. Women sat decorously together, solemn and reserved, in their traditional holiday dresses. The young men ate in a separate room, as did the old men of the village. The ashug and the musicians sang traditional songs and played traditional instruments, while the women of the village, and then the men, performed traditional dances.[167] It is probable that Degh was not an exception among Armenian villages.

Significant changes in the class structure of Armenia took place between 1926 and 1935. In the latter year, all wage and salaried workers constituted 23.3% of the total population (as compared to 12.7% in 1926). Collective farmers and artisans in cooperatives amounted to 60.85% of the total (as compared to 0.08% in 1926). Independent peasants (not including kulaki) and non-cooperating artisans and workers amounted to 11.76% of the total (as compared to 76.2% in 1926) The proportion of landlords, kulaki, merchants and other

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[167]Shaginian, Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii, pp. 99-101.

bourgeois elements declined from 7.62% of the total population in 1926 to 0.55% in 1935.[168] Although the proportion of industrial workers, specialists, and administrators had increased significantly by 1935, Armenia remained a predominantly peasant country. Therefore the kolkhoz, the sovkhoz and the M.T.S. were the most important institutions in the transformation of Armenian society.

By 1935 the prosperous private landowner was no longer the leading figure in Armenian society. The new elite was composed of persons who had received specialized training in Soviet institutions. Many of these persons were of worker of peasant origin. The following are statements made in 1935 by members of the new intelligentsia who had been promoted from the ranks. Matsak Papian, Chairman of the Stalin Kolkhoz, declared:

> I am the son of a poor peasant, who the kulaki in our village counted as a nobody. In 1921 I entered the Red Army. I spent three years in it and learned a great deal...If formerly in the eyes of the village kulaki I was the last man, now I lead the village.[169]

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[168] Armenia, 15 let, p. 25.

[169] Priem v Kremle.

Astkhik Buniantian, a woman worker in the Erivan conserve factory, declared:

> I was a domestic worker. In the time of Soviet rule they pushed me forward as a trade union representative of domestic workers. At the same time I led the work of our Red Corner. Then they pushed me forward as chairman of the group committee of the Union of Public Nutritution Workers. Since January, 1931 I have been working at the conserve factory, first as chairman of the directing committee [zavkom], then as secretary of the Party committee and as Party organizer of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party in the factory.[170]

Toward the end of 1935 the elite of the various republics of the Soviet Union were officially received by the top Soviet leaders in the Kremlin. The composition of the Armenian elite (by Soviet definition). Of the total delegation of thirty-one, four were women. By occupation, the delegation was divided as follows: top-ranking government and party leaders, four; kolkhoz elite, ten; industrial shock workers, five; M.T.S. agronomist, one; intellectuals, four; student, active in secondary institutions, one; army officer, one; athlete, one.[171]

Another indication of social rankings in Soviet Armenia is the average pay received by hired workers in

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[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

various occupations. In 1928 the highest average pay was received by construction workers, followed by education workers, industrial workers, and the agricultural proletariat, in that order. The rankings in 1932 and in 1934 were the same. Seasonal construction workers from the countryside were probably not included in the construction classification.[172]

A more detailed ranking of workers by occupations, according to pay received, is available for 1935. Of the thirty-eight occupational categories, the first fifteen, from highest to lowest, were: (1) economic planners, (2) teachers and administrators in higher educational institutions and tekhnikumy, (3) geologists, (4) employees of public organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, etc), (5) economic administraters in government, (6) M.T.S. workers, (7) journalists and editors, (8) scientific research workers, (9) construction workers, (10) judges and lawyers, (11) credit and finance workers, (12) veternaries, (13) communication workers, (14) teachers in schools of general education, (15) officials and clerks in

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[172]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 96.

government and administration.[173]

Engineers and technicians in heavy industry, construction and hydroelectric stations were paid twice as much as manual and white collar workers in these occupations in 1935.[174] If considered as a separate category, these engineers and technicians would be listed within the first fifteen categories above.

The extent of Communist affiliation among the kolkhoz elite may be estimated on the basis of data gathered in January, 1936 from a large sample. Members and candidates of the Communist Party and Komsomol accounted for 52.3% of all kolkhoz administrators, 52.8% of all administrators of livestock farms, 35.3% of all agricultural kolkhoz brigade leaders, 37.6% of all livestock kolkhoz brigade leaders, and 15.5% of all kolkhoz link leaders.[175] It may be concluded that the top ranks of kolkhoz leadership were dominated by Communists.

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[173]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissiia, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziaistvennogo ucheta, Trud v SSSR [Labor in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, 1936), p. 46.

[174]Ibid., pp. 82, 104, and 253.

[175]Ibid., pp. 335-339.

Average urban wages were higher than average rural wages (213 and 198 rubles a month, respectively). In terms of pay, urban workers had a higher status in Armenia than rural workers.[176]

Industrialization brought few changes in Armenian marriage customs by the early thirties. In urban areas it became acceptable for a girl to chose her own husband, but this practise was considered equivalent to free love in the villages, where parental control over the choice of a marriage partner still prevailed. A visitor to Armenia noted, nevertheless, that some urban workers who were Party members did not celebrate marriage with a religious ceremony or a big party, but went out into the vineyards "to celebrate by themselves."[177]

No data is available to the author on changes of relationships within the Armenian family during the thirties. It is very probable that great changes did occur in families in which wives held paid jobs. The feminist movement continued to grow: the number of _delegatskie sobranii_ increased from 437 in 1930 to 626 in 1931. There were 21,900 _delegatki_ in Armenia in 1931,

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[176] _Ibid._, p. 46.

[177] Yeghenian, _op. cit._, pp. 103-104.

of which about one-third were kolkhoz women. Apparently many Party members were still indifferent or contemptuous toward the feminist movement.[178]

Most women in paid jobs were trade union members, and the proportion of women in trade unions increased from 13.2% in 1928 to 25.2% in 1935. The largest number of women were in white collar work (25.8% of the total white collar workers in 1928 and 37.1% in 1935), followed by women in industry (15.4% of all industrial workers in 1928 and 28.7% in 1935.)[179] The proportion of women teachers in all general elementary and secondary schools decreased from 49% in 1922-23 to 31% in 1934-35.[180] In the kolkhozy, women held a relatively small share of the positions of leadership. In January, 1936, women accounted for only 11.4% of all agricultural kolkhoz administraters, 2.4% of all livestock kolkhoz administraters, and 2.1% of all agricultural kolkhoz brigade leaders. However, 34.1% of all link leaders were women.[181]

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[178] Khanchian, op. cit., p. 125.

[179] Armenia, 15 let, p. 38.

[180] Ibid., p. 203.

[181] Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennog ucheta, Trud v SSSR, pp. 335-339.

In order to free more women for active participation in public life, the network of nurseries and other pre-school institutions in Armenia was greatly expanded during the thirties. The capacity of permanent nurseries was increased from 125 beds in 1928 to 1,856 beds in 1935; the capacity of seasonal nurseries was increased from 300 beds in 1928 to 14,400 beds in 1935.[182] The proportion of all children between the ages of four and six in kindergartens and summer playgrounds increased from 12.1% in 1928-29 to 75.7% in 1934-35.[183]

During the period 1929-1936 the proportion of girls and women in Soviet schools increased significantly. The proportion of girl pupils in all general elementary and secondary schools increased from 31.8% in 1927-28 to 41.4% in 1935-36; in rural areas the increase was from 26.9% to 39.3%. By way of comparison, the proportion of girls in the elementary and secondary schools of the U.S.S.R. as a whole increased from 39.6% in 1927-28 to 46.9% in 1935-36. The proportion of girls in the schools of Armenia was

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[182] Armenia. 15 let, p. 216.

[183] SA Materialy. 1929-34, pp. 107-108.

gradually approaching the average for the Soviet Union as a whole.[184]

Girls in Armenia were also entering technical and higher educational institutions in large numbers. The proportion of girl students to the total students in the tekhnikumy of Armenia, according to type, in the fall of 1935 was as follows: industrial, 21.2%; agricultural, 20.4%; commerical, 22.3%; financial, 28.4%; pedagogical, 31.4%; medical, 46.1%. At this time 34.5% of all students in Armenian rabfaki were women. The proportion of women to the total students in the higher educational institutions of Armenia, according to the Commissariat in charge of the institution, was as follows: Agriculture, 23.6%; Education, 32.4%; Health, 46.4%.[185]

Literacy among Armenian women increased rapidly during the thirties. Of all women in Soviet Armenia nine

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[184]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziîaistvennogo ucheta, Zhenshchina v SSSR [Woman in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, 1936), pp. 107-108.

[185]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziîaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR 1935 [Cultural Construction in the U.S.S.R., 1935] (Moscow, 1936), pp. 90-93, 116-119, and 130-131. Hereafter cited as Kult. stroit. 1935.

years or older, 62.4% were literate by January, 1939, whereas only 19.2% had been literate in December, 1926. The rate of literacy among women in Soviet Armenia was moving toward the all-Union average (72.6% in 1939).[186]

The social dislocations created by economic reorganization contributed to the worsening of the juvenile delinquency problem. In 1935 the Soviet government intensified its campaign against juvenile crime. Parents were made liable for civil damages caused by their children. Cases of juvenile crime were removed from the jurisdiction of special juvenile commissions and placed under the jurisdiction of the regular criminal courts. Any child twelve years of age or older who committed larceny, rape, assault, mutilation, homicide, or attempted homicide was subject to punishment under the regular criminal code. For other offenses, the age of responsibility was placed at fourteen years.[187] The orphan waifs of Armenia were

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[186]Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziîaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v SSSR [Cultural Construction in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Kult. stroit. 1940.

[187]J. M. Hazard, Law and Social Change in the USSR (London, 1953), pp. 253-258.

systematically rounded up and put in orphanages. In 1935 the Armenian government claimed that there were no more orphan waifs on the streets.[188]

Communist youth organizations were assigned important tasks in the work of socialist construction in Armenia. Komsomol workers in industry were encouraged to become model shock workers and Komsomol members in kolkhozy and villages were to lead the work of fighting anti-Soviet elements. Both Komsomol members and Pioneers were active in the anti-religious campaign. Although 70% of all rural Komsomol members were in kolkhozy in 1932, Khanchian reported that Komsomol work in these institutions was "extremely weak." Some Komsomol organizations in rural areas had fallen under the direct influence of kulak and "Dashnak" elements, he reported. The majority of new Komsomol members were not attending political schools.[189] The Komsomol of Armenia, like the Communist Party, was not large enough to handle the problems of collectivization, and when new members began to be accepted in large numbers

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[188]Armenia, 15 let, p. xx and D. Demirjian, "Libo," Armenian Review, IV, No. 3 (1951), passim.

[189]Khanchian, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

to fill Soviet needs, the quality of the organization was diluted.

The Komsomol of Armenia had a total of 29,198 members and 337 candidates in October, 1929. Of these, 13.5% were girls. 38.2% of the total members and candidates were hired workers and 7.7% were Party members.[190] By 1931 there were about 52,000 Komsomol members and about 100,000 Pioneers in Armenia.[191] During the thirties an effort was made to include all children of school age in the Pioneers.[192]

Public facilities for leisure activities were greatly expanded in Armenia during this period. By the fall of 1935 there were sixty-five gymnasiums, twenty-seven ski stations, eight swimming pools, a bicycle race track, nine tennis courts, three stadiums, and 382 playgrounds. Over 70,000 people were included in the physical culture program. Mass tourist excursions were organized, and about 65,000 persons from Soviet Armenia participated in them in 1935.[193]

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[190] Kom. akad. stat., pp. 153-154.

[191] Khanchian, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

[192] R. C. Widmayer, "The Communist Party and the Soviet Schools, 1917-1937," (Doctor's dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1953), p. 390.

[193] Armenia. 15 let, pp. 220-221.

The kolkhoz now became the primary center for the indoctrination of Soviet values in rural areas. There were 500 clubs for leisure activities in Armenia in 1935, and of these, 176 were kolkhoz clubs.[194] Demobilized Red Army soldiers called kulturniki organized reading during rest hours in the kolkhozy. The activities of the kolkhoz clubs included dramatics, anti-religious education work, defence, music, and dancing.[195] All but one of the special clubs for women were abolished, as the kolkhoz clubs had become the centers for feminist agitation.

The number of cinema houses in Armenia increased from twenty-one in 1928, to ninety-nine in 1935. Rural areas were served by fifty-five travelling cinemas in 1935.[196] Armenkino produced nineteen Armenian language art films and 154 agitational-propaganda films between

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[194]For reasons unknown the total number of clubs in Armenia decreased to 281 in 1936. Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissiia, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziaistvennogo ucheta, Socialist Construction in the USSR, p. 459. Hereafter cited as Soc. Con. 1936.

[195]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 109.

[196]Kult. stroit. 1935, p. 192-193.

1928 and 1934. The first Armenian sound film was produced in 1935.[197]

Armenian towns were served by a total of fifteen theaters in 1935, including two which offered plays especially for children.[198] These theaters were state-supported. In addition, kolkhoz theaters were organized beginning in 1934. A government circus was founded in Armenia in 1929, and in 1934 more than two million persons attended its 360 shows.[199] A Soviet Armenian emigré reports that after 1929 theatrical players, dressed in work clothes, would visit factories and kolkhozy and during lunch hour would present Soviet appeals in chorus form. He also reported that straight propaganda films were unpopular with audiences.[200]

By 1936 there were thirty-six newspapers and seven magazines published in Soviet Armenia.[201] Almost all districts had a local newspapers.[202] A total of 3,842

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[197] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 112.

[198] Kult. stroit. 1935, p. 186.

[199] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 113.

[200] Interview of emigré HB5-503 given to Michael Luther.

[201] C. A. Vertanes, Armenia Reborn (New York, 1947), p. 70.

[202] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 111.

Armenian language book titles were published between 1929 and 1935, with a combined circulation of over eighteen million copies.[203] Thus, the spread of literacy among the masses of Armenians was accompanied by an increase in leisure-time reading.

This statistical survey can only partly convey the nature of the transformation in Armenian society that went on during the period 1929-1936. Working life was reoriented around new institutions and state-sponsored leisure activities increased. More women began to participate in public life. By 1936 there were over 100,000 "proletarians" (hired workers) in Armenia, and the kulak and private merchant had disappeared as social categories.

Resistance to Soviet social policies was encountered in the work of "emancipating" women, for the proportion of women in schools and leadership positions in the kolkhozy lagged far behind the proportion of women in the total population. Traditional marriage customs and relations between the sexes still prevailed in rural areas. Even after collectivization the peasants divided labor between the sexes along traditional lines and celebrated the great moments of their lives with traditional ceremonies. A new secular society was developing, to be sure, but

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[203] Armenia, 15 let, p. 209.

traditional ways had not been discarded, particularly in the countryside.

Cultural Developments

Literature and Scholarship

Armenian national culture received limited encouragement from the Soviet government during the period 1929-1936, but the freedom of expression which had been allowed in the twenties was largely withdrawn. Armenian forms of expression were permitted, but writers and scholars were under increasing pressure to write on the theme of socialist reconstruction, rather than on the glories of the Armenian past.

Some Armenian intellectuals who had been inspired by Soviet idealism became disillusioned in this period. Eghishe Charents, a leading Armenian poet, wrote a poem in 1933 in which a hidden message, in the form of an acrostic, was formed by the second letter of each line, as follows: "Oh, Armenian people, your only salvation is in your united strength."[204] In October, 1936 A. Amadouni, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia declared that nationalist sentiment was strong among the Armenian intelligentsia. The past significance of the Dashnaktsutiun

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[204]Navasartian, op. cit., p. 84.

was a subject of lively debate among Armenian intellectuals.[205] Amadouni declared that the "present intense interest" in the issue was not simply a desire to elucidate the truth about the past, but an attempt to bring about a more conciliatory attitude to Armenian nationalism in the present.[206]

Some Armenian writers took up the new theme of socialist reconstruction. Stepan Zorian, for example, wrote about the work of devoted Communists in the building of socialism and Nairi Zarian wrote of the development of the kolkhoz countryside.[207] But as Soviet cultural policies grew harsher, many of the writers of the older generation had to make great emotional sacrifices in order to follow the Party line. A friend of the writer Marietta Shahinian declared that Marietta had been forced to close her eyes and shut off her memory in order to survive as a Soviet writer.

> There were two distinct selves in her: one half of her being so keenly sensitive that sometimes painful impressions made her positively ill, and the other could remain deaf and blind to all she did not want to see or hear.[208]

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[205] Ibid., p. 82.

[206] Ibid.

[207] D. Simonian, Literatura Armenii [Literature of Armenia] (Moscow, 1934), pp. 21-24.

[208] Tchernavin, op. cit., p. 189.

Under the rule of Khanchian, Soviet controls on Armenian writers and scholars were tightened. At the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia, in January, 1932, Khanchian declared that literary production was insufficient and that the convictions of writers were too "lukewarm." Literature, he held, did not appropriately express the struggle for reconstruction and present day Soviet life. The Union of Writers of Soviet Armenia was blamed for showing "rotten liberalism" in respect to proletarian ideology.[209] This organization had about ninety members in 1932 and a subdivision for young writers with about thirty members.[210] A general Union of Soviet Writers was organized in 1934 for all writers who accepted Soviet principles without reservation. Its members had to conform to the Party line and write literature that was "national in form, socialist in content."[211]

Armenian scholars were also put under stricter supervision. A Soviet source reported that the scientific research institutions of Armenia had been infiltrated by nationalists who had "corrupted" the classics, falsified Armenian history, and created confusion iwith the "bourgeois

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[209]Thorossian, op. cit., p. 341.

[210]Simonian, op. cit., p. 21.

[211]Thorossian, op. cit., p. 340.

nationalist" conceptions of Nalbandian, Abovian, and others.[212] The Armenian affiliate of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and other research institutions were purged.

There was a great scandal in connection with the publication of the first Soviet Armenian encyclopedia. Preparation of this work began in 1932, and by the beginning of 1935 the first volume was almost ready for publication.[213] There were to be fifteen volumes in all, the first ten to be devoted to pre-Soviet Armenia and the last five to Soviet Armenia. The head of the project was Ardo Yeghiazarian, Commissar of Education. According to an emigré source, however, before any part of the encyclopedia was published the manuscripts of the first two volumes were branded as "antiBolshevik" and "anti-Marxist," and the whole project came to a halt. The editorial board for the encyclopedia was arrested, including Yeghiazarian, who later went mad in prison.[214]

The libraries of Armenia were purged in the thirties of the works of Raffi and other patriotic Armenian writers. The writings of Raffi, Abovian and others were barred from school textbooks. Surkhatian's two-volume work on Armenian

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[212]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 94.

[213]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 111.

[214]Interview with emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther.

literature, published in 1925-1927, was banned. According to a Soviet Armenian emigré, even the teaching of Armenian history was forbidden.[215]

Toward the middle of the thirties many Armenian writers who deviated from the Party line were arrested and silenced. Persecution drove Eghishe Charents into "exile" in Moscow and Leningrad; later he was arrested and imprisoned in Erivan, where he died.[216] An intriguing detail in the case of Charents is recorded in the official account of the reception of the delegation from Soviet Armenia at the Kremlin in December, 1935. In the course of the proceedings, Stalin asked the Armenian writer, Stepan Zorian, "How is the writer Charents getting along?" Zorian answered, "There is nothing wrong with him." "He, it would seem, is being abused?" asked Stalin. "Now he feels fine," Zorian replied.[217] According to an Armenian emigré, both Stalin and Zorian knew that at this very moment Charents was in an Erivan prison. What was the significance of this conversation? Perhaps it was an

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[215]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 55.

[216]Ibid., p. 56.

[217]Priem v Kremle.

attempt to relieve Stalin of personal responsibility for the misfortunes of Charents, who was popular among the young Armenian intellectuals.[218] Perhaps it was only to give a personal touch to the otherwise formal reception.

After the death and "exposure" of Khanchian, the purges of Armenian writers and intellectuals were intensified. Three rectors of the Armenian State University and several of its professors were arrested and accused of seeking to separate Armenia from the Soviet Union and of carrying on nationalist propaganda in Armenia.[219] Writers who had been hailed by the Soviet authorities as examples of the genius developed under Communism were purged, including Aksel Bakunts, Zabel Yesayan, Mukrtich Armen, and Vahan Totovents. Their works disappeared from the textbooks and publications of Armenia.[220] The heads of the Armenian State Publishing House, the Armenian Movie Studio, and the leading Armenian newspaper (Khorhrtayin

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[218]Interview with emigré HB5-503 given to Michael Luther.

[219]Interview with emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther.

[220]S. Hovian, "The Story of Armenian Literature and its Study in Soviet Armenia," Armenian Review, VII, No. 3 (1954), 52.

Hayasdan) were also purged.[221] An anti-Soviet writer has declared that in Soviet Armenia three curtains were drawn: one, over the works of purged Soviet Armenian writers; another, over those of pre-Soviet writers; and a third, over those of Armenian writers of the diaspora.[222]

As a result of the purges a large part of the old Armenian intelligentsia was silenced or wiped out. A great deal of the potential leadership to Soviet policies was thus destroyed. Many of the young Armenian writers who were left had known nothing but Soviet life, and had been indoctrinated in Soviet ideals from childhood. The Communists sought to win the support of this younger generation during the purges. Many of the young intellectuals must have felt confused and angry to see their idols from the older generation topple at the hands of the government. However, the purges opened up new positions and new opportunities for recognition to this younger generation, and ambition inspired many to proceed along the track of the Party line.

The Communists sought to ease resentment among the masses against the harshness of the new cultural policies

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[221] Interview with emigré HB5-375 given to Michael Luther.

[222] Hovian, loc. cit., p. 54.

by encouraging Armenian folk culture. Folk culture was edited, however, to remove traces of nationalist sentiment and new Soviet themes were introduced into it. For example, in the folk tale called "Anahit", the father of the heroine consults his daughter directly before giving her hand in marriage, and reference is made to the heroine's enthusiasm in teaching the village children to read and write. In the traditional version of the story the father conducted all business in the choosing of a mate for his daughter and there was no reference to the heroine's teaching the village children.[223] The Armenian ashugner continued to sing on traditional themes, but some of their songs were now about Lenin, Stalin, and the kolkhozy. Armenia sent folk song and dance groups to the cultural olympiad held in Moscow in 1937. A dekada of Armenian folk music and dancing was held in 1939, as well as a general celebration of the one-thousanth jubilee of the Armenian folk epic, David of Sassoun.[224]

During the thirties there was an increased emphasis on the study of Russian language and culture in Armenia. Russia was presented as prima inter pares among the nations

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[223] I. Khatchatrianz, Armenian Folk Tales (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. ii, and 68-82, passim.

[224] Interview with emigré HB5-503 given to Michael Luther.

of the Soviet Union, and efforts were increased to make Russian the lingua franca throughout the Union. In 1937 there were 470 teachers of the Russian language in Armenia, and the number was greatly increased in the following years.[225] An increasing number of Russian words were introduced into the Armenian language. The official terms for "republic" and "party" in Armenia were changed from the indigenous words (hanrabedoutyoun, gousagtsoutyoun) to words borrowed from Russian (respublika, bardia). A number of Armenian leaders dropped the characteristic Armenian -ian suffix from their names and adopted the Russian -ov ending (e.g., K. Arutinian became A. Arutinov).

The Soviet School System

In the period of rapid industrialization of Armenia, widespread literacy and an increased number of technical personnel were needed. In response to this need, educational facilities were expanded and there was an increasing trend toward the professionalization of the upper grades of the general secondary schools.[226] Per capita expenditure on education increased almost 800% between 1928-29 and 1934.[227]

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[225]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 88.

[226]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 308.

[227]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 147.

Most students in tekhnikumy and universities received government stipends.[228]

The Communist Party ordered a complete reorganization of the school system in 1931-32. The "new pedagogy" of the twenties was abandoned. The school was now considered the prime educational institution, rather than the total environment, which was full of "capitalist vestiges." Learning was now to be from the teacher and the textbook; experience, observation, and student activity were less emphasized.[229] Greater stress was put on individual performance, and the grading and examination systems were made more regular and uniform. Technical training was given in special theorectical courses, and excursions to industrial enterprises were discontined.[230] Socialist competition between schools, between classes in the same school, and between individuals was introduced for the improvement of academic work, discipline and promptness.[231]

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[228]Boghossian, op. cit., p. 51.

[229]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 422.

[230]Ibid., pp. 227-232.

[231]Ibid., p. 376.

There was now more emphasis in Soviet schools on the basic scientific disciplines, rather than on a broad knowledge of contemporary life. Technical schools had long complained of the poor preparation of students in the basic sciences.[232] Admission requirements were now raised. The supervision of higher technical education was transferred from Armenian to Union authorities in 1930.[233] The State University of Armenia was organized into separate institutes, each with its own regulations, rights and professorial staff under the jurisdiction of the appropriate commissariat. For example, the Agricultureal Institute was put under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Agriculture, the Medical Institute, under the Commissariat of Health, and so forth.[234] In this way the University became less an integrated Armenian institution and more a collection of units in the Union system of higher education.

During the thirties, the increased demand for discipline, obedience, and respect in the Soviet State

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[232] Ibid., p. 435.

[233] Vyshinsky, op. cit., p. 409.

[234] Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 74.

was paralleled in the Soviet school system. The teacher controlled and manipulated the learning process, and pupils were required simply to accept the explanation of the teacher and the textbooks.[235] School curriculum, methods, and texts were not established by Party decrees.[236] After 1935 the textbooks used in Armenia were mere translations of the approved Russia texts of the R.S.F.S.R.[237] The criteria for examinations and grading were made uniform throughout the Soviet Union.[238] The emphasis in political indoctrination changed from the teaching of Marxist-Leninist dialectic and the discussion of current events to the instilling of enthusiasm and respect for the leaders of the Soviet Union.[239]

General elementary education became compulsory in fact, even for children of the disinherited classes, in 1931-1932.[240] In January, 1930 the Union authorities condemned the expulsion of children from school on account of class origin. But it was still difficult for children

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[235]Widmayer, op. cit., pp. 435-436.

[236]SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 106.

[237]Widmayer, op. cit., p. 333.

[238]Ibid., p. 433.

[239]Ibid., p. 438.

[240]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 79.

of the disinherited classes to enter institutions of higher education. This was because higher education was regarded by Soviet authorities as a privilege of the working class. The authorities also realized that many children had pre-formed political attitudes by the time they reached college age.[241] According to the Commissar of Education in 1932, children of the proletariat, the intelligentsia, and the kolkhoz peasantry were give first priority in admission to the Armenian State University, and children of public officials, artisans, petty traders, adn independent peasants were given second priority. Children from other social classes were rarely admitted.[242]

The schools of Armenia were badly overcrowded during the thirties. Some schools had to go on a two-shift or three-shift system. 45% of all elementary school students, 46.3% of all seven-year school students, and 44.7% of all secondary school students were studying on the shift systems in 1937-1938.[243] As a result, thousands of Armenian children were loose on the streets during many

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[241]Widmayer, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

[242]Yeghenian, op. cit., p. 76.

[243]Kult. stroit. 1940, p. 84.

hours of the day.[244] One reason that the lower grades were overcrowded was the fact that many students were not promoted at the end of the school year. Standards of promotion were such thatat the end of the 1934-35 school year only 84.2% of elementary pupils, 72.8% of pupils in grades five to seven, and 68.2% of pupils in grades eight to ten, were promoted to the next grade or graduated.[245] Another reason for overcrowding was the shortage of school buildings. In 1932 only 60% of all Armenian "schools" for general education had their own buildings; the others had to meet in buildings primarily designed for other uses.[246] A Soviet source reported in 1940 that "enemies of the people" had delayed the construction of new school buildings, using the funds allocated for them by the government for other purposes.[247]

The educational qualifications of teachers in Armenia were substantially raised during the thirties. In 1935 three-fourths of all elementary teachers had received a secondary education, as had 82% of all secondary teachers. Less than 1% of all elementary teachers, and only 11.6% of all secondary teachers had received a higher education, however.[248] This situation had improved by 1939. At that

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[244]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 92.

[245]Kult. stroit. 1935, pp. 46-47.

[246]SA Materialy. 1929-34, p. 106.

[247]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 91.

[248]Kult. stroit. 1935, p. 56.

time 90% of all elementary teachers had received a secondary education. Of all teachers of grades five to seven, 86.7% had received a complete secondary education and another 12.1% had received a higher education. Of the teachers of grades eight to ten, 64.1% had received a complete secondary education and 35.9% had received a higher education.[249] There were 5,494 Armenians among all education workers (92.54% of the total) in April, 1929.[250]

During the thirties teachers in Armenia were given increased recognition and rewards by the Soviet authorities. As was noted above, the average pay for education workers in Armenia during 1929-1934 was second only to that of construction workers. At the end of the thirties, 52 leading village teachers of Armenia were awarded medals of the Soviet Union, and 402 teachers were elected as deputies to the local soviets of Armenia.[251] These developments probably reflect not only the Soviet belief in the importance of the school system, but the high esteem in which teachers were held by the people of Armenia.

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[249]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 87.

[250]Kom. akad. stat., p. 178.

[251]Garabedian, op. cit., p. 88.

The number of elementary, seven-year, and secondary schools and their enrollments during 1928-1936 are given in Table 13. The decline in elementary enrollment after 1931-32 may be partly due to the promotion of overage pupils. Seven-year and secondary schools accounted for an increasing proportion of the school population during this period. The proportion of students in the total population between the ages of five and twenty-four years who were in elementary, seven-year, secondary, technical, and higher educational institutions increased from 25.6% in 1927-28 to 63.9% in 1935-36.[252] The proportion of students in schools for general education in relation to the total population increased from 9.8% in 1928-29 to 23.7% in 1938-39. In comparison, only 18.7% of the population of the R.S.F.S.R. was in general education schools in 1938-39.[253] The total number of teachers in the general education schools of Armenia increased from 2,769 in 1928-29 to 8,021 in 1937-38.[254]

The enrollment in technical and higher educational institutions of Armenia between 1928 and 1936 is given in Table 14. Armenian students accounted for 94.9% of the

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[252] Armenia, 15 let, p. 197.

[253] Kult. stroit. 1940, pp. 24-25 and 29.

[254] Garabedian, op. cit., p. 87.

TABLE 13

GENERAL EDUCATION IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1928-1936

Type of School	1928-29[a]	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36[b]
1. Elementary								
a. Schools	773	811	904	820	782	750	655	620
b. Pupils	69,717	75,462	105,118	68,084	62,814	53,652	41,543	38,500
2. Seven-year								
a. Schools	62	78	135	246	302	326	408	432
b. Pupils	12,715	14,849	32,274	93,853	104,656	99,611	109,989	116,100
3. Secondary								
a. Schools	10	10	no data	no data	12	42	68	94
b. Pupils	3,767	4,642			11,566	21,659	42,986	60,300
TOTAL								
a. Schools	845	899	1,039	1,066	1,096	1,118	1,131	1,146
b. Pupils	86,199	94,953	137,392	161,937	179,036	174,922	194,518	214,900
c. Teachers	2,769	3,084	3,775	4,123	4,469	4,658	5,135	5,529

a. Data for 1928-29 through 1934-35 is from Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, Socialist Construction in the USSR (Moscow, 1936), pp. 450-451.

b. Data for 1935-36 is from Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR 1935 (Moscow, 1936), pp. 8-9 and 54-55.

TABLE 14

STUDENTS IN TECHNICAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1928-1936

Type of Institution	1927-28[a]	1929-30[b]	1931-32[a]	1934-35[c]	1935-36[c]
1. Higher Education	1,603	1,316	3,402	3,755	4,456
2. Tekhnikumy	1,676	3,252	6,722	6,457	8,078
3. Rabfaki	611	790	2,064	1,392	2,150

a. Armenia (S.S.R.), Upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, 15 let Sovetskoi Armenii v tsifrakh (Erivan, 1935), pp. 204-205.

b. Kommunisticheskaîa akademiîa, Moscow, Komissiîa po izucheniiû natsional'nogo voprosa, Natsional'naîa politika VKP v tsifrakh (Moscow, 1930), p. 295.

c. Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR 1935 (Moscow, 1936), p. 69 and A. Lalaian, "Proekt Stalinskoi Konstitutsii SSSR i rastsvet Sovetskoi Armenii, Revoliûtsionnyi Vostok, No. 4 (1936), p. 46.

enrollment in these instiutions in 1928 and 90.7% in 1935.[255] The number of rabfaki in Armenia increased to seven in 1935, of which four were in Erivan, two in Leninakan, and one in Allaverdi. A total of 1,032 students were included in the program of higher and technical correspondence study.[256] Many adults were thus able to continue their training while holding full-time jobs. By 1934 the government established a Higher Communist Agricultural School and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which played a significant rule in the training of the political elite of Armenia.[257]

The social composition of students accepted in higher educational institutions and tekhnikumy administered by the commissariats of Armenia in the fall of 1935 is given in Table 15. The low proportion of peasants and their children in the enrollment of higher educational institutions is especially interesting, since peasants accounted for about 70% of the total population of Armenia

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[255] S. Ia. Todriia, "Podgotovka natsional'nykh kadrov v ZSFSR" [Preparation of National Cadres in the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R.], Revolîûtsiîâ i Natsional'nosti, No. 1 (1936), p. 65.

[256] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 104.

[257] Ibid., p. 103 and Armenia, 15 let, p. 205.

TABLE 15

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS ACCEPTED IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND TEKHNIKUMY ADMINISTERED BY COMMISSARIATS OF SOVIET ARMENIA, FALL, 1935 (IN PERCENTAGES)*

Institution, according to supervising commissariat	Wage Workers	Children of Wage Workers	Specialists and their Children	Other Salaried Workers and their Children	Collective farmers and their Children	Independent Peasants and their Children	Others
1. Higher							
A. Agriculture	2.2	6.0	---	23.3	53.4	9.8	5.3
B. Education	13.2	6.7	2.5	48.5	24.4	3.3	1.4
C. Health	11.2	15.6	---	49.2	19.0	5.0	---
2. Tekhnikumy							
A. Local Industry	12.6	23.3	2.7	8.3	41.3		11.8
B. Agriculture	6.2	4.5	0.4	2.6	83.7		2.6
C. Internal Trade	---	9.8	---	1.8	86.6		1.8
D. Finance	5.4	13.5	---	8.1	73.0		---
E. Education	1.5	10.7	0.4	9.1	77.4		0.9
F. Health	---	28.4	2.0	4.9	46.1		18.6

* Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissiia, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khoziaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR 1935 (Moscow, 1936), pp. 90-93 and 116-119.

in 1935. It is also important to note that although salaried workers (administrators, technicians, clerks, etc.) accounted for only about 7% of the total population in 1935,[258] they and their children accounted for 51% of all students in higher educational institutions administered by the Commissariat of Education. Wage workers (skilled and unskilled manual workers) and their children accounted for about 16% of the total population and were equivalently represented in higher educational institutions, excepting those concerned with agriculture. Further, the evidence of this table seems to indicate a tendency toward occupational immobility. The enrollment in agricultural schools was dominated by peasants; the proportion of wage-workers and their children in the industrial tekhnikumy exceeded the proportion of wage workers in the total population. Salaried workers and their children dominated the enrollment in higher education, with the exception of agricultural higher education.

The political affiliation of students accepted in higher educational institutions and tekhnikumy administered by the commissariats of Soviet Armenia in the

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[258] Armenia, 15 let, p. 25 and L. Zinger, Natsional'nyi sostav proletariata v SSSR [National Composition of the Proletariat in the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow, 1934), p. 54.

fall of 1935 is given in Table 16. About half of all students enrolled in higher educational institutions were members and candidates of the Komsomol, and between 6.5% and 9.5% were members and candidates of the Communist Party. Higher education and membership in Communist organizations were becoming correlate qualifications.

The campaign to liquidate illiteracy in Armenia was intensified during the period 1929-1936. The liggayanner were converted into permanent schools for general education with programs like those of the regular elementary schools.[259] Enrollment in the liggayanner increased to 42,915, and in the schools for semi-literates, to 40,358, in 1935.[260] The rural population accounted for most of this enrollment. There were 571 Party schools and groups in 1932 with an enrollment of about 8,800 Communists and 7,000 non-Party members.[261]

According to Soviet sources, the school system of Armenia accomplished the almost complete liquidation of illiteracy among persons between the ages of eight and forty-four years in the period 1929-1936. Literacy in

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[259] SA Materialy, 1929-34, p. 108.

[260] Kult. stroit. 1935, p. 171.

[261] Khanchian, op. cit., p. 132.

TABLE 16

POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF STUDENTS ACCEPTED IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND TEKHNIKUMY ADMINISTERED BY COMMISSARIATS OF SOVIET ARMENIA, FALL, 1935*
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Political Affiliation	Higher Education Institutions			Tekhnikumy					
	Agriculture	Education	Health	Local Industry	Agriculture	Internal Trade	Finance	Education	Health
1. Members and candidates of the Communist Party	6.5	7.2	9.5	1.3	0.2	....	1.4	0.4	1.0
2. Members and candidates of the Komsomol	54.0	51.0	46.9	28.2	21.0	48.3	56.8	33.7	28.4

*Russia (U.S.S.R.), Gosudarstvennaîa planovaîa komissiîa, Tsentral'noe upravlenie narodno-khozîaistvennogo ucheta, Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR 1935 (Moscow, 1936), pp. 90-93 and 116-119.

this age group increased from 26.3% in 1922 to 93.7% in 1935.[262]

The Armenian Church Under Soviet Rule

All institutions of traditional Armenian culture were put under increased pressure in the period 1929-1936, and the Armenian Church was no exception. The anti-religious campaign of the twenties reached a climax between 1929 and 1931.[263] In April, 1929 an all-Union law prohibited priests from giving religious instruction to children under eighteen years of age, and the freedom of religious propaganda was revoked.[264] The priests were hard hit during the period of collectivization. They had more difficulty in obtaining food and other necessities. Their movable and immovable property was confiscated, and many were exiled to Siberia as "kulaki." Only two priests remained in Erivan, and these two had to register regularly with the secret police.[265]

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[262] Armenia, 15 let, p. 196.

[263] Kult. stroit. 1940, p. 7.

[264] J. S. Curtiss, The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917-1950 (Boston, 1953), pp. 228-229.

[265] K. Saharuni, Bor'ba Armianskoi tserkvi protiv bol'shevizma [Struggle of the Armenian Church Against Bolshevism] (Munich, 1951), p. 16.

A collosal tax was laid on the monastery of Echmiadzin. Since the monastery could not pay it, the government confiscated all valuable church ornaments and gifts received from Armenians of the diaspora over the centuries. Gifts sent to Echmiadzin from abroad during this period were also confiscated. According to an emigre report, an automobile sent from abroad for the use of the aged Catholikos turned up in Tiflis in the possession of Lavrentia Beria. The Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Erivan was converted into a cinema house known as "Atheist."[266] An Armenian Church in Leninakan became a military club and another in Kirovakan became a theater. Many village churches became kolkhoz warehouses.[267] The famous monastery on the island in Lake Sevan was converted into a summer resort in 1929.[268]

Anti-religious propaganda was intensified. In the villages zealous Komsomol members would stand in front of the village church and preach against religion before and during mass. The youths of the villages were threatened and cajoled with promises of office in order to make them desert the Church. Property of pious villagers was seized

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[266] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[267] Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 56.

[268] V.A. Sarafian, "The Soviet and the Armenian Church," Armenian Review, VIII, No. 2 (1955), 96.

and seed grain was refused them by the government. Priests were forced to renounce their clerical titles and their calling.[269] As a result, many villagers stopped going to Church. An Armenian emigre who visited a village during this period as a student related the following:

> In the center of the village stood the old church, its windows shattered, and its doors wrecked....In the church yard lay scattered the torn leaves of breviaries, yellow and unreadable from spattered candle drops....The altar was empty, the curtains torn, and the desk and capes of the choir looted....When godly oldsters and devout women saw all this, their eyes filled with tears of bitterness.[270]

The Armenian Church was blamed for helping to instigate the armed rising of the peasants against collectivization in 1930-1931, and during this period the persecution of the Church reached its height.[271] By November, 1932 the seminary at Echmiadzin had been closed and the congregation of Echmiadzin had been reduced to twenty persons who led a "humble, almost miserable life."[272] Monks were forbidden to leave Echmiadzin in monastic garb

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[269]C. Zarian, "The Priest of the Village of Bakontz," Armenian Review, II, No. 3 (1949), 31.

[270]Gerounian, loc. cit., pp. 3-4.

[271]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 17.

[272]L.-G. Guerdan, "En Transcaucasie sovietique (nov.-dec. 1932)," Revue de France, Ann.XIII, V, 103.

or to talk with the people. No one could go to Echmiadzin without police permission.[273]

The Armenian Church was still directed by the Catholikos, who was chairman of the Supreme Spiritual Council (Synod), The Synod was composed of four bishops and two laymen who acted as counsellors. Armenia was divided into three diocesses: Erivan, Shirag, and Siunik (Zangezur).[274] After the death of the old Catholikos, Kevork V, on May 9, 1930,[275] Khoren Mouradbeghian, Archbishop of Erivan, became the acting Catholikos. Khoren was born in about 1873 of a family long resident in Caucasia.[276] He attended Nersesian Academy in Tiflis and later taught there. An American reported that he saved the life of the Russian governor in 1905 when a mob attacked the governor's palace in Tiflis. At one time he was exiled by the Tsarist government because he

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[273]Tzitzernak, loc. cit., p. 56.

[274]Boghossian, op. cit., p. 47.

[275]The Times (London), May 14, 1932, 15:1.

[276]The Times (London), November 18, 1932, 13:2.

was "too powerful."[277] He visited England in 1921.[278] In the early twenties he was described as the most powerful clergyman in Armenia and on excellent terms with the Soviet government.[279] An Armenian emigré reports that the Echmiadzin monks also approved of him.[280]

Soviet policies toward the Armenian Church became more lenient in 1932. A petty Armenian government official told a visitor to Armenia that this change of policy was ordered by Moscow and was partly motivated by the desire to mollify Armenians of the diaspora who had sent financial aid to Soviet Armenia. The official also said that the change of policy was influenced by the fact that some leaders in the Armenian government were sons of priests and attached to the old traditions in spite of themselves.[281] At any rate, the Soviet government gave

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[277]M. Elliot, Beginning Again at Ararat (New York, 1924), pp. 322-323.

[278]The Times (London), November 21, 1932, 15:3.

[279]Elliot, op. cit., pp. 322-323.

[280]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 17.

[281]Guerdan, loc. cit., pp. 105-106.

its permission for the election of a new Catholikos, and the election took place on November 14, 1932 in Echmiadzin. The acting Catholikos received the majority of votes and was installed in office as Khoren I. There were seventy-three electors present, of which fifty-three were laymen; this was the first time in centuries that laymen were in the majority. Four of the electors were women, which was another unusual occurrence.[282] Only seven electors came from abroad: the rest were from Soviet Armenia and other parts of the Soviet Union.[283] A new Synod was elected at this time.[284] It is interesting to note that at the meeting of the Armenian electors a proposal was made to remove the seat of the Catholikos from Echmiadzin to Jerusalem. The proposal was discussed and finally defeated.[285]

In an interview with Walter Duranty published in the New York Times in November, 1934 at Echmiadzin,

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[282] Ibid., p. 104.

[283] L. Arpee, A History of Armenian Christianity (New York, 1946), p. 308.

[284] Guerdan, loc. cit., p. 104.

[285] The New York Times, November 11, 1934, 26:4.

the new Catholikos declared that more than half of the cases regarding church property, taxes, and alleged misconduct of priests brought up by the government had been settled to his satisfaction. He said that he had full freedom of communication with the outside world, that he was receiving money from abroad, and that his representatives could ge exit visas when necessary. "On the whole I have little cause for complaint," he declared. "The Bolsheviks understand my position and I understand theirs." Duranty described Khoren as an honest, competent man, aware of his difficulties but able to cope with them.[286]

Civil rights were restored to priests and their children were given the right to attend higher educational institutions in 1936.[287] But soon afterward the persecution of the Church was again intensified. This renewed persecution was probably connected with the purges of the Party, government, and intelligentsia of Armenia. Khoren died under mysterious circumstances in April, 1938; according to an emigre report he was murdered by the secret police at Echmiadzin and buried

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[286] *Ibid*.

[287] Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

secretly.[288] Permission was not given for the election of a new Catholikos until 1945. An emigré reported that after this Echmiadzin was inhabited by only a few old monks and that there were few priests or churches left in Armenia.[289] The publication of Ararat was suspended in 1938.[290]

It is difficult to assess the reaction of the Armenian people to the persecution of the Church during this period, for evidence is fragmentary and conflicting. Armenians constituted about 1% of the total population of the Soviet Union, but only 0.1% of the membership in the Union of Atheists in 1929.[291] However, a former member of the Armenia bourgeoisie told a visitor to Armenia that many people no longer had faith or were too intimidated to attend church.[292] An anti-Soviet source says that

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[288]Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 97.

[289]Saharuni, op. cit., p. 18.

[290]Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 99.

[291]Kom. akad. stat., p. 325.

[292]Guerdan, loc. cit., p. 105.

interest in the Church hierarchy was dead in Soviet Armenia by 1938 and estimates that about 85% of the Armenian clergy had been "destroyed."[293] It is probable that a large part of the younger generation of Armenia became a-religious or anti-religious as a result of Soviet propaganda and the secularization of Armenian life during the thirties.

Reactions to Soviet Cultural Policies

During the period 1929-1936 the Communists severely repressed Armenian nationalism and the Armenian Church. They encouraged secularism in all phases of Armenian life. Urbanization and collectivization increased the accessibility of the peasants to Soviet propaganda. The diffusion of propaganda was also facilitated by the great increase in literacy. Potential foci of opposition in the Armenian intelligentsia and the Armenian Church were purged. Russification of Armenian culture was increasing. The direct, open expression of Armenian national feeling was limited virtually to the sphere of Armenian folk literature, music and dancing.

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[293]Sarafian, loc. cit., p. 94.

There was resentment to Soviet cultural policies among the Armenian intelligentsia during the thirties, but repression took such severe forms that organized resistance was extremely difficult. The purges wiped out most of the older generation of intellectuals who might have led a resistance movement. The leadership of Armenian culture was now taken over by the new generation of Armenians who had been subjected from early childhood to Soviet indoctrination and were familiar only with Soviet life. "The old world is unknown to me," wrote the young Armenian poet, Hovhannes Shiraz, in 1935.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I sat down one day in our threshing floor,
Watching my Uncle, separating the chaff from the grain;
From the hills came a gentle autumnal wind,
The wind carried away the chaff.

"Uncle," I said, "What's this you're doing?
You've given the whole chaff to the wind."
"It's all right, son," my Uncle said,
"The chaff is gone but the grain remains."

"It's been ever thus in all things, son,
Whatever we thresh we give to the wind,
We too have been blown by the world's wind,
The chaff is gone but the grain remains."

--Khachik Dashtentz.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The transformation of traditional Armenian culture in Soviet Armenia was summarized as follows in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia:

> In Soviet Armenia the vestiges of patriarchal kin relationships, the large family (including several generations of kinsmen by a father, 60-80 persons), and the union of large families--the village commune, which have been maintained until recently among the Armenians of the Turkish and Persian provinces, have finally disappeared. The social structure of socialist Armenia has destroyed the former inequality of women in the family and in society. The difference between the urban and rural way of life is disappearing. The illiteracy of the peasants is liquidated....The widespread religion of the past--Christianity of the Monophysite doctrine--is dying out.[1]

To what extent are these claims justified? To what extent can the transformation of Armenian culture be attributed to Soviet policies in Armenia during the period 1920-1936? An attempt may now be made to answer these questions on the basis of the material presented in this study.

First, it is necessary to summarize the

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[1] "Armi͡ane," Bol'shai͡a Sovetskai͡a Entsiklopedi͡a, Vol. III, 2nd ed.

characteristics of Armenian culture at the time of the Sovietization of Armenia (1920). At that time Armenian society was divided into two general categories: the first included the mass of Armenian peasants, whose institutions and values were still traditional; the second included the educated minority of Armenians who were inspired by secular goals and values. But this generalization should be qualified. The new Armenian intelligentsia still retained many traditional ways; and the traditional culture of the peasant masses had undergone a great deal of transformation toward the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century.

First of all, traditional Armenian institutions had changed. By the time of Sovietization the extended family had already broken up into smaller units, averaging about six persons each. Prestige within the family was tending to be based on wealth rather than seniority. Within the smaller family unit, however, patriarchal relationships were retained; labor was divided in traditional ways between the sexes; male dominance, fertility, chastity, ethnic endogamy, and family solidarity were still the values Armenians learned

from early childhood within the family unit.

In the Armenian village, dependent relationships in land tenure had been abolished, and about 5% of the peasantry consisted of rich peasants employing hired hands. Western and Russian goods had penetrated the countryside and exchange on a cash basis was prevalent. Consumer cooperatives had been established in some village to break the grip of rural usurers on the peasantry. The artisan industries were declining in importance. As a result of the pressure of population on the land, many peasants had migrated permanently or temporarily from the villages to Baku, Tiflis, and other cities of Transcaucasia. However, the traditional organization of government and agricultural labor still prevailed in the villages. The towns were still small and industry was undeveloped in Armenia proper.

By the time of Sovietization the curricula of Armenian parochial schools had been almost entirely secularized, and even the administration of the schools had been removed from the hands of the Church during the time of the Armenian Republic. The Armenian Church had lost its leading position in Armenian political, social,

and cultural life. The internal organization of the Church, however, was unchanged. The Church still exerted great influence among the Armenian peasants.

Among the minority of Armenians who had been influenced by Western education, the traditional values had lost importance. Ethnic loyalty among these Armenians had been transformed into secular Armenian nationalism, the goals of which were the unification, liberation, and material and cultural advancement of the Armenian people. This minority sought to increase its standard of living to European levels and to imbue itself with Western learning. Among this minority the individual, as an individual, was valued; his patterns of behavior were no longer so strictly defined by tradition. He was conscious of his "Armenian-ness" and the limitations and potentialities of his condition. He wrote with pride in vernacular Armenian, no longer attempting to master the classic language. He participated in Armenian welfare societies and political parites, for his loyalties extended beyond family, village, and Church. He no longer felt obliged to marry an Armenian woman. Even his wife and daughters

might be educated and active in public life.

At the same time, traditional institutions and values were still influential among the educated minority of Armenians. When the Tsarist government confiscated the property of the Armenian Church, the educated minority led the resistance of the people. The loyalty of rural Armenian intellectuals to the village may be seen in their efforts to improve village schools and to establish consumer cooperatives. Loyalty to kin and patriarchal relationships were still operative in the political and social life of educated Armenians. Men were still virtually unchallenged in their predominance in family and public life; the emancipation of women had scarcely begun. The reverence for learning in traditional culture had served to legitimize the desire of this minority for higher education, and traditional ethnic loyalty had been intensified among this minority on the somewhat different level of Armenian nationalism.

During the period 1917-1921 the Armenian intelligentsia had taken over the political leadership of the Armenian people. Nationalist ideals and values had been more widely diffused among the peasant masses,

and Armenian national life was organized within an independent state according to a mixture of liberal-democratic, patriarchal, and agrarian-socialist principles. The Tartar minority was largely eliminated; Armenia became more truly Armenian in the ethnographic sense.

At the same time, Armenian social organization was being disrupted. Military operations, massacres, famine, the influx of destitute refugees, the disruption of village and family life all created a desire for change. The Armenian peasant felt that conditions could not have been worse, and he was grasping at straws to survive. The Armenian nationalist intelligentsia had been unable to protect him from external dangers. But he regarded Russia as an old protector, and he preferred the burden of Russian rule to the horrors of Turkish conquest. In addition, some Armenians had faith in the Bolsheviks, and several hundred joined the Communist Party.

After the Communist took over Armenia their ultimate goals and basic policies were fairly constant, although the style and methods of their activity

differed during various periods. Their goals were the establishment of Socialism and then Communism in Armenia; and to achieve these goals they deliberately sought to engineer a change in the essential character of Armenian culture.

The Communists consistently staffed the government and schools of Armenia with Armenians so that their policies would at least seem to have indigenous sponsorship and support. They recruited a large part of the Armenian intelligentsia to their service. They encouraged mass participation in Soviet political institutions and social organizations. They recruited Communists from all strata of Armenian society and enlisted their aid in the work of building Socialism. While seeking to destroy the exclusive claims of Armenian nationalism to the loyalty of the people, they nevertheless encouraged the development of Armenian music, art, literature, and scholarship. They developed the economic potentialities of Armenia.

In order to rebuild Armenian society and to change to character of Armenian culture, the Communists established new institutions, the most important of which were the Communist Party of Armenia, the Communist Youth

organizations, the Commission to Improve the Way of Life of Women, the Soviet school, the Soviet factory, and the collective farm. All economic production was reorganized on a new institutional basis; Communist-controlled public leisure facilities were established. Through these institutions the Communists sought to destroy the influence of the Armenian Church, to abolished the traditional forms of village organization, and to draw women into public life. They sought to create a new type of Armenian--one who trusted and obeyed Communist authority above all, who enthusiastically promoted Communist policies, who regarded labor as a matter of "valor and honor," and who felt himself a significant member of Soviet society as a whole. The new values taught by the Communists were not sanctioned by custom, but by the rationale of Communist ideology and the charisma of Communist leaders. Social status in Soviet society was justified by education, technical skill, and achievement. Nationalist feeling was regarded as an unfortunate, but temporary sentiment to be manipulated and transformed into loyalty to the Soviet Union and to the ideal of world revolution.

It is interesting to compare Soviet policies in Armenia with those of the Tsarist government, both because of their similarities and because of their differences. H. F. B. Lynch summarized Tsarist policies as follows (in 1901):

> The Russians...would be content to see the Armenians conduct the commerce of their native country and develop its vast resources... but only on one condition were they prepared to encourage such activity: that their subjects should become Russians, and that the province should be joined to the Russian Empire not only by the slender thread of annexation, but by the abiding tie of common patriotism founded on a community of sentiment with themselves.[2]

Tsarist policies included repression of the Armenian Church, parochial schools, welfare societies, and political parties. A deliberate attempt was made to Russify the educated Armenians. After 1896 Armenians were deliberately excluded from the Imperial civil servioe. The Tsars gave some of the richest lands of Armenia to Russian colonists. They connected Armenia by rail with the rest of the Russian Empire and opened it to foreign and Russian capitalist investment; but they did not abolish dependent forms of land tenure in Armenia until 1912. Lynch concluded:

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[2]Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies (London, 1901), I, 459.

> Such methods are only the manifestations of a settled and uniform plan. The Armenian must sink his individuality and resign his initiative into Russian hands. He must imbue himself with the ideas which his rulers have prepared for him, and which may be opposed to the tendencies and capacities with which he has been endowed. In such a prospect he recognizes nothing to admire and much to fear....He feels the grip of an organization which is founded on European methods, and commands all the resources which those methods provide; but he distrusts the hands which wield these weapons, and he is indifferent to the objects to which they are turned. Even the material results of such a system leave him little to hope for beyond what he has attained.[3]

If these statements had been made in 1936 rather than in 1901, they would have contained little that was anachronistic. In Soviet times as well as Tsarist times the Armenian was in the grip of an organization largely founded on European methods; he was required to imbue himself with ideas his rulers had prepared for him; and he was allowed to develop the potentialities of his country only on the condition that it be joined to the Soviet Empire by an abiding tie of common patriotism founded on a community of sentiments.

There were other similarities between Soviet

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[3]Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies, I, 460.

and Tsarist policies. The Soviets, like the Tsars, repressed Armenian nationalism and Armenian nationalist political parties. They encouraged Armenians to learn the Russian language and introduced many Russian words into the Armenian language. They sought to destroy the independence of the Armenian Church. They took over the Armenian schools and used them for their own ends.

However, there were significant differences between Tsarist and Soviet policies. Unlike the Tsars, the Soviets administered Armenia through Armenians. They encouraged the use of the Armenian language and the development of Armenian literature, music, art, and scholarship (within certain limitations, to be sure). They sought to destroy the supplant the institutions of traditional Armenian culture and to build Armenian society anew. They made extraordinary efforts to eradicate illiteracy and to build up industry in the country.

The next problem is to evaluate the results of Soviet policies. Soviet material achievements in the period 1920-1936 are indeed impressive. Economic construction during the twenties removed the effects of

the war to a large extent. During the thirties the productivity of the country was greatly increased and its industrial base expanded. The population losses of the war period had been recouped; the Armenians were reproducing at the most rapid rate of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Communists had enlisted the support of a significant part of Armenian society. About one Armenian in every hundred as a member or candidate of the Communist Party and another two in every hundred were members or candidates of the Komsomol. But these were exclusive organizations, and the Communists probably enjoyed considerable sincere support among those who were not members of these organizations. Especially during the twenties the Communists enjoyed the support of much of the old Armenian intelligentsia; in addition they created a new Soviet intelligentsia, trained in Soviet institutions and for the most part loyal to the Soviet regime. In addition, collectivization of agriculture and the almost complete liquidation of illiteracy among persons eight to forty-four years of age had made wide masses of the people more accessible to Communist propaganda. Women were entering paid jobs

and educational institutions in large numbers with Communist encouragement. Many members of the rural and urban proletariat had taken advantage of opportunities for education, promotion to high position, and recognition for their productive achievements.

What had happened to the institutions of traditional Armenian culture under Soviet rule? The extended family was in the process of breaking up when the Communists arrived, and during Soviet rule the process was accelerated. Loyalties to new Soviet organizations--the Komsomol, the Pioneer organization, the trade union, the club, and so forth--had probably supplemented and even supplanted kin loyalties to a large extent. Women were taking a more active part in life outside the home. But there is evidence that within the home male predominance still existed, and in addition, the traditional division of labor between the sexes survived to a large extent in the villages.

The political and economic organization of the Armenian village had been supplanted by that of the collective farm. Rural government was largely dominated by Communists; cultivation was no longer organized according to households, but on the basis of a rationalized

distribution of tasks among the various individual members of the collective farm.

The town had become the center of diffusion for Soviet culture. Soviet government and secondary institutions had their headquarters in the town, and Erivan and Leninakan had become industrial centers. Many workers lived in large apartment houses, some on a cooperative basis. Theaters, cinemas, parks, and other recreational facilities had been established. The State University and the rabfaki were attended by hundreds of adults in the evenings.

The Armenian Church continued to function, but it had been crippled by Communist persecution. All of its political, social, and educational activities had been restricted. Worship services continued, but many church had been closed, and it is probable that church attendance was smaller. The Armenian parochial schools had been converted into Soviet institutions, and coeducation had been established.

The process of secularization of Armenian values which began before Sovietization had been greatly accelerated. Authority was now legitimized by the Communist rationale rather than by custom. Human

relations in Soviet institutions had become more impersonal and bureaucratized. Work was glorified as an end in itself, and among the Soviet elite it had become "a matter of valor and honor." Specialized technical abilities were esteemed as the division of labor became more elaborate. The goal-oriented, striving, energetic, disciplined, optimistic personality had become the favored type by Soviet standards. Armenian music, art, literature, and folk culture had been studied, censored, and made more uniform; knowledge of the Russian language and Russian literature had increased in Armenia; the new Soviet culture, characteristic of the Union in general, had been diffused in Armenia.

Yet traditional values and Armenian nationalism had survived. Some traditional values--respect for learning and respect for authority--had actually been encouraged by the Communists. The practise of ethnic endogamy persisted, but this may be partly attributed to the fact that Armenian mates were highly available in Armenia. Some values which were not approved by the Soviet regime also persisted. According to the Armenian proverb, "The water does not forget its course." A large part of the peasantry was probably still loyal

to the Armenian Church. The dominance of the male was retained in family and public life. There is evidence that the masses of Armenians did not regard work as a matter of "valor and honor." Furthermore, Armenian nationalism, particularly among the intellectuals, remained such a vital force that the Communists felt obliged to take extreme repressive measures against it.

Many Soviet policies encountered widespread resistance in Armenia during the period 1920-1936. During the twenties, at least, the peasants continued to settle their disputes by customary law, avoiding the Soviet courts. Collective farming during the twenties was a failure, and the internal redistribution of the population in connection with land reforms had to be effected by coercion. The number of members of Soviet trade unions decreased. There were frequent complaints about the "weakness of the work among women" in Communist circles, and many Party members were guilty of a "criminally lightminded attitude" toward feminism. Resistance took on more severe dimensions in the period 1929-1936. Many peasants joined armed bands in the mountains rather than join collective farms; others slaughtered their livestock and cut down their mulberry

trees. Even some Party members in the countryside took sides with the opponents of collectivization. "Petty-bourgeois egalitarianism" persisted within the collective farm. Many of the new industrial and construction workers were not amenable to Soviet discipline or responsive to Soviet incentives. Organized resistance to Soviet policies within the top levels of the Communist Party, government, and intelligentsia of Armenia developed to such an extent that a ruthless and thorough series of purges was instituted in 1936-1937.

The next problem is to determine the factors which accounted for resistance to, and cooperation with, Soviet policies in Armenia. Which policies were received most enthusiastically, and by whom? Which policies were most vigorously resisted, and by whom?

First of all, those policies which were most popular were those most compatible with traditional Armenian values. For example, the encouragement given by the Soviets to education was compatible with the traditional Armenian respect for learning; the establishment of Armenian as the official language of Armenia was compatible with the ingrained communication habits

of the Armenians.

Second, Soviet policies were most popular among the classes which those policies favored. During the twenties these classes included the poor and middle peasants and the educated persons who had not been too closely associated with the Dashnaktsutiun. In the thirties, the old intelligentsia was purged and the new intelligentsia trained in Soviet institutions was favored. Industrial and agricultural "shock workers" were also favored. Among these groups Soviet policies were most enthusiastically received and Soviet values took the firmest root.

A number of other factors promoted cooperation with Soviet policies among Armenians in general. The old leadership of Armenian society was gradually eliminated by natural death and by purges. The Soviet system of coercion was reasonably effective: death, imprisonment, forced labor, and the threat of such penalties were efficiently combined with a system of control and direction of mass communication. The traditional learning process was disrupted by Soviet undermining of traditioned institutions and by the establishment of new Soviet institutions.

In addition, Soviet policies were backed by the power and prestige of Soviet Russia. Pro-Russian sentiment had long been strong among the Armenians, despite their resentment of repressive Tsarist policies. The Soviet Russians, furthermore, allowed the Armenians a greater degree of political and cultural autonomy than the Tsars had permitted.

Improvements in the system of mass communication in Armenia and the spread of literacy had made a larger part of the population accessible to Soviet propaganda. This propaganda was supported by positive Soviet achievements in economic restoration, hydroelectric and irrigation development, and increased job opportunities. Armenians had participated in the reconstruction of their country and could take pride in their achievements. Through the efforts of Soviet secondary organizations a large number of Armenians felt themselves part of the great Soviet community and enjoyed a greater sense of personal significance as a result.

On the other hand, those Soviet policies which were most incompatible with traditional Armenian culture encountered the greatest resistance. The most outstanding example was the collectivization of agriculture. Again,

the groups which offered the most resistance to Soviet policies were those against which Soviet policies discriminated. These included the clergy, the rich peasants, and the Armenian nationalist intellectuals. Little is heard of resistance among the former Armenian nobles and the Armenian bourgeoisie, for these classes were relatively small and insignificant in Armenia at the time of Sovietization. As Armenian society became more stratified according to Soviet criteria during the thirties, it is probable that those in the lower ranks were more hostile to Soviet policies than was the new Soviet elite.

A number of factors influenced general resistance to Soviet policies. Soviet coercion had a double effect: on the one hand, it intimidated people to cooperate with the Soviet regime; on the other, it created bitterness and anger against the regime. Further, during the thirties the increasing demands on the people to work harder were not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the availability of consumer goods. Large groups within the population resented Soviet persecution of the Armenian Church and the repressive measures taken against Armenian nationalist

manifestations.

The more intense and sudden the impact of Soviet policies, the more vigorously they were resisted. For example, when collectivization was ruthlessly forced on the Armenian peasants in 1929-1931, they resorted to arms. On the other hand, the campaign to emancipate women was developed gradually and carefully; the methods employed were often subtle and indirect; and by 1936 Armenian society had acquiesced to the participation of large numbers of women in life outside the household.

The final problem is to determine the causes for Soviet successes and failures in Armenia. Soviet successes may be attributed, first of all, to the inherent attractiveness of Communist ideology. The Communist doctrines of capitalist exploitation, capitalist encirclement, the insightfulness of the working class, the infallibility of Communist leadership, and the ultimate triumph of Communism appealed to many Armenians. Communist ideology was flexible enough to combine the ideal of human brotherhood with an appreciation of the various forms of national creative expression.

Second, Soviet successes may be accounted for

by the Soviet policy of recruiting the most talented elements among the Armenians the Soviet elite. This policy built up a hard core of Soviet supporters, and also created the impression that Armenia was being ruled by the Armenians.

A third factor in Soviet successes was the efficiency of Soviet institutions. These institutions were devised to answer both the claims of Communist ideology and actual conditions in Armenia. The organized activity they fostered did more than words or compulsion alone could have done to indoctrinate the Armenians with Communist values.

A final factor in Soviet successes was Communist insight into the character of traditional Armenian culture and Armenian society. The Communists knew that social and cultural transformation could not be brought about by decree. They realized that they had to get at the roots of Armenian culture--to destroy, transform, and supplant traditional Armenian institutions. Because of their insights, the Communists were able to grasp many of the levers of cultural change.

The factors at work in Communist failures were both subtle and complex. The Armenians, as a result

of their history, were highly experienced in the art of resistance to alien domination. During the twenties the Communists did not destroy the traditional strongholds of Armenian resistance--the family, the village, and the Church. Emphasis was on the restoration of production rather than the radical reorganization of the traditional institutions of production. Industrialization and urbanization proceeded slowly. Thus, traditional Armenian culture was not sufficiently "softened up" for the second revolution of the thirties. And in the thirties the very suddenness of the Soviet impact produced strong resistance. Armenian society reverberated like a tempered bell that had been given a hard blow.

It is still too early to determine how permanent were the changes produced in Armenian culture under Soviet rule during the period 1920-1936. It also seems too early to assess the value of these changes for the Armenian people. But this much can be said: by 1936 Armenian culture was still a unique entity; the chaff was gone, but the grain remained.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TRANSLITERATION TABLES

A. Russian--Latin

	Russian	Latin		Russian	Latin
1.	а	a	21.	ф	f
2.	б	b	22.	х	kh
3.	в	v	23.	ц	ts
4.	г	g	24.	ч	ch
5.	д	d	25.	ш	sh
6.	е	e	26.	щ	shch
7.	ж	zh	27.	ъ	"
8.	з	z	28.	ы	y
9.	и	i	29.	ь	'
10.	й	i	30.	э	e
11.	к	k	31.	ю	iu
12.	л	l	32.	я	ia
13.	м	m			
14.	н	n			
15.	о	o			
16.	п	p			
17.	р	r			
18.	с	s			
19.	т	t			
20.	у	u			

TRANSLITERATION TABLES

B. Armenian--Latin

	Armenian	Latin		Armenian	Latin
1.	ա	a	20.	մ	m
2.	բ	p	21.	յ (initial)	h
				(terminal)	mute
3.	գ	k		(after vowels)	y
4.	դ	t	22.	ն	n
5.	ե (initial)	e ye	23.	շ	sh
			24.	ո	o
6.	զ	z		(initial)	vo
7.	է	e	25.	չ	ch
8.	ը	e	26.	պ	b
9.	թ	t	27.	ջ	ch
10.	ժ	zh	28.	ռ	r
11.	ի	i	29.	ս	s
12.	լ	l	30.	վ	v
13.	խ	kh	31.	տ	d
14.	ծ	dz	32.	ր	r
15.	կ	g	33.	ց	tz
16.	հ	h	34.	ւ	v
17.	ձ	ts	35.	փ	p
18.	ղ	gh	36.	ք	k
19.	ճ	j	37.	օ	o
			38.	ֆ	f

իու	iyou		
իւ	iu	ոյ	ui
եա	ia	էյ	eyi
ու	ou; (at beginning of a syllable, preceding a vowel)		v

TRANSLITERATION TABLES

C. Western Armenian--Soviet Armenian--Latin

	Western Armenian		Soviet Armenian	Latin
1.	ւ		վ	v
2.	օ		ո	o
3.	յ	(initial)	հ	h
4.	է		ե	e
5.	ույ		ույ	ui
6.	եա		յա	ia
7.	ե	(initial)	յե	ye
8.	էյ		եյ	ei
9.	էու		եյու	eyu
10.	էա		եյա	eya
11.	ո	(initial)	վո	vo
12.	ու	(at beginning of syllable)	վո	vo
13.	ուա	(at beginning of syllable)	վա	va
14.	ուէ, ուե	(at beginning of syllable)	վե	ve
15.	ուի	(at beginning of syllable)	վի	vi
16.	ու ու	(at beginning of syllable)	վու	vou
17.	ուեա	(at beginning of syllable)	վյա	via
18.	՝	(terminal, after a vowel)	(omitted)	(mute)

TRANSLITERATION TABLES

D. Armenian--Russian

As given in Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Vol. III, 2nd ed., p. 108.

	Armenian	Russian		Armenian	Russian
1.	ա	а	21.	յ	й
2.	բ	б	22.	ն	н
3.	գ	г	23.	շ	ш
4.	դ	д	24.	ո	о, во
5.	ե	е	25.	չ	ч
6.	զ	з	26.	պ	п
7.	է	э	27.	ջ	дж
8.	ը	ъ	28.	ռ	рр
9.	թ	тх	29.	ս	с
10.	ժ	жс	30.	վ	в
11.	ի	и	31.	տ	т
12.	լ	л	32.	ր	р
13.	խ	х	33.	ց	ц
14.	ծ	тс	34.	ւ	у
15.	կ	к	35.	փ	пх
16.	հ	х	36.	ք	кх
17.	ձ	дз	37.	և	ев
18.	ղ	гх	38.	օ	о
19.	ճ	тш	39.	ֆ	ф
20.	մ	м			

APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN SOVIET ARMENIA

A. Proper Names

1.	Ամերկոմ - Մերձավոր Արեւելքի Ոգնության Կոմիտե	American Committee for Near East Relief
2.	Անդրկովկասյան խորհրդային Ֆեդերատիվ Սոցիալիստական Հանրապետություն	Transcaucasian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic
3.	Աշխժողկոմատ - Աշխատանքի Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ	People's Commissariat of Labor
4.	Առժողկոմատ - Առողջապահական Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ	People's Commissariat of Health
5.	Արդժողկոմատ - Արդարադատության Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ	People's Commissariat of Justice
6.	Արմֆան - Ա.Ս.Հ.Մ. Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի Հայկական Ֆիլիալ	Armenian Affiliate of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR
7.	Բանկոոպ - Բանվորական Կոոպերացիա	Workers' Cooperation
8.	Բանվորների, Գյուղացիների եւ Կարմիր Բանակայինների Պատգամավորական Խորհուրդ	People's Commissariat of Worker-Peasant Inspection
9.	Բան-ֆակ - Բանվորական Ֆակուլտետ	Workers' Faculty

10. ԲԳ.Տ.Ժ.Կ. – Բանվորա-Գյուղացիական Տեղուբյան Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ — Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies
11. Ժ.Կ.Խ. – Ժողկոմխորհ – Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարների Խորհուրդ — Council of People's Commissars
12. Ժ.Տ.Խ. – Ժողտնտխորհ – Ժողովրդական Տնտեսության Խորհուրդ — Council of People's Economy
13. Լ.Ժ.Կ. – Լուսժողկոմատ – Լուսավորության Ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ — People's Commissariat of Education
14. Խ.Ա.Հ.Մ. – Խորհրդային Սոցիալիստական Հանրապետությունների Միություն — Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
15. Կանանց Կենցաղը Բարելավող Հանձնաժողով — Commission for Improving the Way of Life of Women
16. Կանանց Պատգամավորական Ժողով — Meeting of Women's Delegates
17. Կենտգործկոմ – Կենտրոնական Գործադիր Կոմիտե — Central Executive Committee
18. Կենտկոմ – Կենտրոնական Կոմիտե — Central Committee
19. Կ.Վ.Վ – Կենտվիճակ – Կենտրոնական Վիճակագրական Վարչություն — Central Statistical Administration
20. Կինբաժին – Կիների Բաժին — Women's Division

21. Կոմերիտմիություն - Կոմսոմոլ - Կոմունիստական Երիտասարդ Միություն — Union of Communist Youth; Komsomol

22. Կուլտուրայի Տուն — House of Culture

23. Համկուս - Համամիութենական Կոմունիստական Կուսակցություն (պարտիա) — All-Union Communist Party

24. Հ.Հ.Դ. - Հայ Հեղափոխական Դաշնակցություն — Armenian Revolutionary Federation

25. (Հայ) Սոցիալ Դեմոկրատ Հնչակյան Կուսակցություն — Armenian Social-Democrat Hunchakian Party

26. Հ.Ա.Մ.Խ. - Հայաստանի Արհեստակցական Միությունների Խորհուրդ — Council of Trade Unions of Armenia

27. Հայգյուղկոոպ - Հայաստանի Գյուղատնտեսական Կոոպերատիվների Միություն — Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Armenia

28. Հ.Կ.Խ. - Հայաստանի Կարմիր Խաչ — Red Cross of Armenia

29. Հ.Կ.(բ)Կ. - Հայաստանի Կոմունիստական (Բոլշեւիկների) Պարտիա (Կուսակցություն) — Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Armenia

30. Հ.Ո.Կ. - Հայաստանի Պաշտպանության Կոմիտե — Committee to Aid Armenia

31. Հ. Ա. Խ. Հ. – Հայաստանի Սոցիալիստական խորհրդային Հանրապետություն — Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia

32. Հայկոոպ – Հայաստանի Սպառողական Կոոպերատիվ ընկերությունների Միություն — Union of Consumer Cooperative Societies of Armenia

33. Հ. Ս. Ս. Ռ. – Հայկական Սովետական Սոցիալիստական Ռեսպուբլիկա — Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

34. Հ. Բ. Ը. Մ. – Հայկական բարեգործական ընդհանուր Միություն — Armenian General Benevolent Union

35. Հեղկոմ – Հեղափոխական Կոմիտե — Revkom; Revolutionary Committee

36. Հոգեվոր Գերագույն խորհուրդ — Supreme Spiritual Council; Synod

37. Հողժողկոմատ – Հողագործական ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ — People's Commissariat of Agriculture

38. Ն. Գ. Ժ. Կ. – Ներգործող Կոմիսար – Ներքին Գործերի ժողովրդական Կոմիսարիատ — People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (N.K.V.D.)

39. Ն. Տ. Ֆ. – Նոր Տնտեսական Քաղաքականություն — New Economic Policy (N.E.P.)

40. Չեկա — Cheka: Extraordinary Commission

41. Պետպլան — Պետական պլանային հանձնաժողով — Government Planning Commission; Gosplan

42. Պիոներական կազմակերպություն — Pioneer Organization

43. Սոցապժողկոմատ — Սոցիալական ապահովության ժողովրդական կոմիսարիատ — People's Commissariat of Social Insurance

44. Փ. Ո. Կ. — Փոխօգնության Գյուղական Կոմիտե — Village Committee of Mutual Aid

45. Քաղաքացիական կացության Ակտերի Տեսչության Տարածք — Office of Registry of Acts of Civil Status (ZAGS)

46. Ֆ. Ժ. Կ. — Ֆինժողկոմատ — Ֆինանսների ժողովրդական կոմիսարիատ — People's Commissariat of Finance

B. Words and Phrases

1.	ագիտացիա	agitation
2.	ակադեմական	academic
3.	ակտ	act
4.	ակտիվ	active: ad hoc organization of Communist supporters
5.	անկետա	questionnaire, inquiry
6.	ապարատ	apparatus
7.	առաջավոր	leading, avant-gard
8.	առաջին ատստիճան	Level I (schools)
9.	ասպիրանտ	aspirant, candidate for a university degree
10.	արդ-ֆինպլան	production-financial plan
11.	արհմիություն	trade union
12.	արտել	artel; cooperative labor unit
13.	ավանդական կենցաղը	the traditional way of life
14.	բատրակ	farmhand; batrak
15.	բազա	basis
16.	բայլշևիկ, բոլշևիկ	Bolshevik
17.	բանդ	band
18.	բանդիտիզմ	banditism
19.	Բ. Ու. Հ. - բարձրագույն ուսումնական հիմնարկ	higher educational institution

20.	բյուլետեն	bulletin
21.	բյուրո	bureau
22.	բյուրոկրատիզմ	bureaucratism
23.	բուրժուա-ազգային ձևախոտա-կան	bourgeois-nationalist
24.	բջիջ	cell
25.	բրիգադ	brigade
26.	գավառ	county; uezd
27.	գավառագիտություն	regional studies
28.	գավառամաս, գավառամասն	district; uchastok
29.	գավգոմ	county revolutionary committee
30.	գյուղխորհուրդ	village soviet (council)
31.	դեկրետ	decree
32.	դեպուտատ	deputy
33.	դիկտատուրա	dictatorship
34.	դիսերտացիա	dissertation, thesis
35.	դիրեկտիվ	directive
36.	էկոնոմիկա	economy
37.	էկոնոմիստ	economist
38.	զոնա	zone
39.	ընկեր	comrade
40.	ընկերվարական	socialist
41.	թեորիա	theory

42.	թերի միջնակարգ դպրոց	incomplete secondary school; seven-year school
43.	իդեալ	ideal
44.	ինստիտուտ	institute
45.	ինտելիգենցիա	intelligentsia
46.	ինտենսիֆիկացիա	intensification
47.	ինքնահետադարձություն	self-criticism
48.	իրավախախտում	delinquency
49.	լիկկայան	illiteracy liquidation point
50.	լիկվիդացիա	liquidation
51.	լրիվ միջնակարգ դպրոց	complete secondary school
52.	խորհրդային, սովետական	soviet (adjective)
53.	խորհրդահամակեր	pro-Soviet
54.	խորհրդայնացում	Sovietization
55.	խորհուրդ, սովետ	soviet (noun)
56.	խորհտնտեսություն	state farm; sovkhoz
57.	ծառայող	white collar worker; salaried worker; sluzhashchii
58.	կաթողիկոս	Catholikos
59.	կաբինետ	department (in a school)
60.	կենտրոն	center
61.	կոլեգիա	collegium
62.	կոլխոզային դպրոց	school for kolkhoz youth

63. կոլտնտեսություն, կոլխոզ — collective farm; kolkhoz

64. կոմունիստ — Communist

65. կոմպլեքս — complex

66. կոնստրուկցիա — construction

67. կոնտրռեվոլյուցիա — counter-revolution

68. կոնցեպցիա — conception

69. կոնֆերանս — conference

70. կուլակ — rich peasant, employing hired hands; kulak

71. կուրս — course

72. կվալիֆիկացիա — qualification

73. համագումար — congress

74. հայրենակցական միություն — union of Armenians from the same town or district

75. հանրակացարան — public dining room

76. հասարակագիտություն — hunamities and social sciences

77. հարվածայնություն — shock work; undarnichestvo

78. հիդրոշեն — hydroelectric establishment

79. հնգամեակ — five-year plan

80. հորիզոն — horizon

81. մանկապարտեզ — kindergarten

82. մանկատուն — home for children; orphanage

83.	Մանկավարժական	pedagogical
84.	Զանգվածական	mass
85.	Մասշտաբ	scale
86.	Մարքսիզմ-Լենինիզմ	Marxism-Leninism
87.	Մ.Տ.Կ. - Մեքենատրակտորային կայան	Machino-Tractor Station (M.T.S.)
88.	Մեքենայացում	mechanization
89.	Հետսովետական	pre-Soviet
90.	Միջին կվալիֆիկացիա	middle-qualification
91.	Միջնակարգ դպրոց	secondary school
92.	Մոբիլիզացիա	mobilization
93.	Մոմենտ	moment; a stage in development
94.	Մսուր	creche, nursery
95.	Երկու հերթ	two-shift (schedule)
96.	Կրկնեռ	co-educational
97.	Կրկրորդ տարեկիսություն	the repeating of a grade by a student who was not promoted; vtornichestvo
98.	Նախագահություն	presidium
99.	Շեֆություն	patronage; leadership
100.	Շրջան	county, district
101.	Շրջգործկոմ	district executive committee
102.	Շրջհեղկոմ	district revolutionary committee
103.	Շտաբ	executive body

104.	կրաբ	staff
105.	ողակ	link
106.	oպորտունիստ	opportunist
107.	որգան	organ
108.	ուղղիչ տուն	house of correction; prison
109.	պարկոմական	young Communist
110.	պարտիա	party
111.	պետապ, պետական ապահովագրություն	state insurance; social security
112.	պետհրատ, պետական հրատարակչություն	state publishing house
113.	պոլիտեխնիկական	polytechnic
114.	պրակտիկ	practical
115.	պրոլետար	proletarian
116.	պրոպագանդիստ	propagandist
117.	պրոֆեսորություն	professor
118.	պրոֆեսոր	trade union
119.	ռեակցիոն	reactionary
120.	ռեզերվ	reserve
121.	ռեսուրս	resource
122.	սեզագործ	unskilled workman
123.	սովետ	soviet (noun)
124.	սովետական	soviet (adjective)
125.	սովխոզ	state farm; sovkhoz

126.	ընդհանուր կրթություն	general education
127.	սոցիալական	social
128.	սոցիալիստական	socialist
129.	սոցմրցում, սոցմրցակցություն	socialist competition
130.	սպորադիկ	sporadic
131.	ստանդարտ	standard
132.	տեխնիկում	tekhnikum
133.	տեմպը	tempo
134.	տեսակարար կշիռ	specific gravity; percentage; proportion
135.	տերիտորիա	territory
136.	տրեստ	trust
137.	ռեկվիզիցիա	requisition
138.	ցեխ	workshop
139.	ցենզ	qualification, value
140.	քաղաքատիպ բնակավայր	urban-type settlement
141.	քաղխորհուրդ	city soviet
142.	ֆաբգործուն	factory school
143.	ֆալսիֆիկացիա	falsification
144.	ֆակուլտետ	faculty
145.	ֆերմ	farm
146.	ֆոնդ	fund
147.	ֆունկցիա	function
148.	ֆրոնդ	front

APPENDIX III

CHANGES IN THE NAMES OF SOME IMPORTANT PLACES IN EASTERN ARMENIA AFTER SOVIETIZATION

Pre-Soviet Name	Soviet Name
Alexandropol	Leninagan (Leninakan)
Kharakilisa (Karakilisa)	Kirovagan (Kirovakan)
Djelal-ogly	Sdepanavan (Stepanavan)
Vorontsovka	Kalinino
Vagharshabad (Vagharshapat)	Echmiadzin
Elenovka	Sevan
Duzkent (Duzkend)	Akhourian
Keshsishkent (Keshishkend)	Mikoyan
Karanloukh (Karanlough)	Mardouni (Martouni)
Allahverti (Allarverdi)	Surenagan (Surenakan)
Veti-Basar	Veti

APPENDIX IV

CHRONOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET ARMENIA, 1920-1936

1920		
	Jan.	First Conference of Bolshevik organizations of Armenia.
	May 2-14	Unsuccessful Bolshevik rising in Armenia.
	Sept.	War begins between the Armenian Republic and Turkey.
	Nov. 29	Revkom proclaims the Sovietization of Armenia.
	Dec. 2	The Government of the Armenian Republic resigns.
		Treaty of Alexandropol signed between the Armenian Republic and Turkey.
	Dec. 21	Laws of the R.S.F.S.R. declared operative in Armenia.
	Dec. 28	Nationalization of all land, forests, waters, banks of Armenia.
1921		
	Jan. 24	All officers of the army of the Armenian Republic ordered to report to Erivan.
	Jan. 25	Opening of the State University in Erivan.
	Feb. 18	Outbreak of rebellion against the Bolsheviks.
	Mar. 16	Signing of the Treaty of Moscow by Russia and Turkey.
	Apr. 2	Erivan retaken by the Bolsheviks.
	Apr. 14	Lenin sends Miasnikian to take charge of the government of Armenia.
	Aug.	First Congress of the Komsomol of Armenia.
		First Congress of Trade Unions of Armenia.
	Sept.30	Signing of military and financial treaty by Armenia and the R.S.F.S.R.
	Oct. 21	Signing of the Treaty of Kars by Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.
	Nov.	Beginning of land reform in Armenia.
1922		
	Jan. 25	First Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Jan. 30	First Congress of Soviets of Armenia.
	Feb. 5	Adoption of the first Constitution of Soviet Armenia.
	Feb. 18-23	First Transcaucasian Congress of Party organizations.

1922		
	Mar.	First Transcaucasian Economic Conference.
	Mar. 12	Formation of the Federal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Transcaucasia. (FSSSRZ)
	Nov.	First Agricultureal Conference of Soviet Armenia.
	Dec. 13	The FSSSRZ becomes the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (ZSFSR)
	Dec. 30	Armenia, as a constituent member of the ZSFSR, enters the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
1923		
		The Commission to Improve the Way of Life of Women established in Armenia.
		Rabfaki established in Erivan and Leninakan.
	Mar.	Second Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Nov. 20	Formal dissolution of the Dashnaktsutiun in Armenia.
1924		
	May	Establishment of the Armenian Movie Studio in Erivan.
		Third Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
1925		
	Mar.	The Shirak Canal put into operation.
	Dec.	Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
1926		
	May	Opening of the Lenin Hydroelectric Station at Erivan.
	Nov. 19	Proclamation of recodified Soviet family law.
	Dec. 17	All-Union census.
1927		
		First Congress of Women Members of Soviets of Armenia.
		Beginning of the construction of Dzorages.
	Nov.	Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.

1928		
	Jan.	Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Apr.	Adoption of the First Five Year Plan by the Sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.
	Oct.	Beginning of the operation of the First Five Year Plan.
	Nov.	First Congress of Collective Farmers of Armenia.
1929		
	Apr.	Sixth Congress of Soviets of Armenia, which adopts the First Five Year Plan for Armenia.
	May	Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Dec.	The Commissariat of Agriculture of Armenia becomes a United Armenian-Transcaucasian Commissariat.
	Winter, 1929-30	Beginning of forced collectivization of agriculture.
1930		
	Mar.-Apr.	Organization of the first Machino-Tractor Station in Armenia.
	May 9	Death of Kevork V, Catholikos of the Armenian Church.
	1930-31	Armed rising in Armenia against collectivization.
1931		
		Opening of the Sardarabad Canal.
1932		
		Opening of the Stalin Canal.
		Beginning of operation of the Leninakan Hydroelectric Station.
	Jan.	Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Nov. 14	Khoren Mouradbeghian elected Supreme Catholikos of the Armenian Church as Khoren I.
1933		
	Jan. 1	Beginning of operation of the Second Five Year Plan.
	Feb.	Decree ordering division of kolkhoz labor into seven vertical categories.

1933		
	June	First Congress of Kolkhoz Shockworkers of Armenia.
		Beginning of construction of the Erivan-Akstafa Railroad.
1934		
	Jan.	Stepanian cleared by the Party collegium of charges against him.
		Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
1935		
	Aug.	Beginning of the Stakhanovite movement.
	Dec. 30	Reception of the delegation of workers of Soviet Armenia in the Kremlin.
1936		
	July 9	Death of Aghasi Khanchian, Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Dec. 5	On the basis of the new Constitution of the USSR, Armenia is reorganized as a Union Republic; the Transcaucasian Federation is dissolved.
1937		
		Death of Sahak Ter Gabrielian, former Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.
	May	Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia.
	Sept.	Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, with the participation of G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, L. P. Beria.
	Nov.	Death of Khoren I, Supreme Catholikos of the Armenian Church.

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